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**ARE
WE TWO-NATIONS
?**

**NATIONALITIES
IN INDIAN POLITICS**

**A SCIENTIFIC AND NON-PARTISAN
APPROACH**

BY

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DEDICATED
TO
A SON OF INDIA
WHO SACRIFICED HIS LIFE AND ALL
FOR HIS FELLOWMEN
AND
TO
MADGE STEWART SANMANN
RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN
AND
ROBERT CASHMAN
OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
GREAT EXAMPLES
IN
THE MINISTRY OF RECONCILIATION

What can the doctor do when the patient is already stiff and cold? India is dead to all sense of honour and glory. India is an inert mass which no power of life has yet been able to move. . . . Talk of regenerating India to the Indians? You might as well talk to the sands of the sea—

May 8, 1879.

THE EDITOR,
Amrita Bazar Patrika

My first impression of the discussions I have had with various Indian political leaders is that of a fundamental sense of unity among practically all of them with regard to the necessity for the attainment of independence, despite variations respecting the method and nature of implementation—

January 27, 1946.

R. W. SORENSEN,
Member, Parliamentary Delegation

It is not within the competence of the foreign rulers of this country . . . to raise the standard of life of our common people to a sufficient degree of human decency. Only a government of the people can do so and set right the existing rotten administration—

Allahabad, February 3, 1946.

JAWAHAR LAL NEHRU.

I hope that British rule in India would end with dignity and in an atmosphere of goodwill favourable to the development of a new and fruitful relationship based not upon authority of the Crown and Parliament, but upon treaty or treaties freely entered into between sovereign nations—

March 16, 1946

SIR JOHN ANDERSON,
*Chancellor of the Exchequer
in Churchill's Government.*



'We are upon an engagement very difficult.' —Oliver Cromwell

'Nil tam difficile est, quin querendo investigari possit.'
Nothing is so difficult as to be beyond the reach of investigation. —Lucretius

'There is no Hindu and no Mussulman.'
But man to man. —Nanak

SOME CONGRESS LEADERS



'If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery,
they may indeed wait for ever.'—Macaulay

'It is liberty alone which fits men for liberty.'—Murray.

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JINNAH TO GANDHI—

We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of International Law we are a nation.

September 17, 1944.

GANDHI TO JINNAH—

I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam it must remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children. You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam?

September 15, 1944.

AN AMERICAN TO A BRITISHER—

What is an American and how can there be an American nation? . . . In that year (1930) there was a continental population alone of roughly 123,000,000. Of these, over 14,000,000 were foreign-born, and close to 40,000,000 were either foreign-born or children of one or both foreign-born parents. About 8,000,000 potential voters, or one in every eight of the total, are foreign-born . . . We have some 6,800,000 Germans, 4,500,000 Italians, 4,300,000 British, 3,300,000 each of Canadians and Poles, 3,100,000 each of Irish and Scandinavian, 2,600,000 Russians, 1,400,000 Mexicans, 1,300,000 Czechs, and some five to six millions of other nationalities, to say nothing of 12,000,000 Negroes . . . Thus, an American may be either a descendant, like myself, of the earliest seventeenth-century English settlers in Virginia or New England, or a person of utterly different race—Greek, Turk, Lithuanian or what not . . . America is, or at least has been, a nation.

JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS.

(*An American Looks at the British Empire*, pp. 3, 4, and 5).

INTRODUCTION



In 1935, the late Professor James Wilford Garner, Head of the Department of Political Science in the State University of Illinois, confronted the author with a question when the latter was his pupil at Illinois. Prof. Garner was an eminent political scientist of international standing and reputation, and he asked the question in dead earnest. His question was whether India could exist as a nation, and whether it would not be better to divide the country into several autonomous states. The same question was put to the author in one form or another by hundreds of Americans and Britishers during the eight years of his sojourn outside India. Some of those who asked this question were India's friends while many others asked it cynically. The emphatic answer that the author then gave was that, if the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., Brazil and China, which are larger in size than India, could exist as nations, India also could, and that the tendency in the world was towards a super and multinational state. In the following pages the author has attempted a more detailed and comprehensive answer to this question. This piece of research was originally undertaken ten years ago with a view to meeting Dr. Garner's challenge.

ARE WE TWO-NATIONS?

There is, just at present, a widespread lunacy in the political thinking of India. Politicians speak of a pure race, a noble language, a sacred literature and an infallible religion. They assert the existence of two or more nations and sub-nations. Petty loyalties have replaced wider and more human ones, and provincialism and parochialism are rife. To-day, Indian political life, in some respects, resembles that of Europe during the Thirty Years War or of England during the Wars of the Roses. A keen sense of frustration is sweeping through and devastating the country. Communal convulsions have seriously shaken India's mental equilibrium. Moreover, the presence of a foreign power has made normal political life practically impossible. Political stalemates are the order of the day, and the political atmosphere is surcharged with suspicion and double dealing. Interests clash, and India's future is fraught with despair and hope. Further, the indifference of millions to the political realities of the country is indeed another sad commentary on the situation. Under these circumstances, honest and unbiased political thinking is, most difficult, if not impossible.

The most controversial issue that engages the attention of every thinking Indian in the country is the TWO-NATION THEORY. The demand for Pakistan is largely on the basis of this theory. This disruptive and separatist tendency manifests itself in the clamour for nationhood on the basis of race, religion and language. The 'Azad Panjab Movement' and the cry of 'Dravidistan for the Dravidians' are an outgrowth of sectionalism. The most amazing aspect of the controversy is that the most intelligent as well as the most stupid persons are equally emphatic in asserting or denying the existence of two or more nations in India. Politicians, university and college professors and students, capitalist and landlord interests, and workers and peasants are divided over this issue. Even outstanding legal minds with a nationwide reputation for their objectivity differ widely and

INTRODUCTION

sharply on this point. Often, unbiased and independent opinions are dubbed as partisan view-points. In the corrupt and suspicious atmosphere that prevails in India noble ideals are being prostituted as political propaganda.

The very word NATION is used in a variety of ways. Those who are least qualified to speak on the subject of political science are usually the most vociferous about their views on the TWO-NATION THEORY. It is ridiculous and surprising that lawyers, university men and college students who are ordinarily expected to use terms and terminologies accurately, make a flagrantly faulty and un-scientific use of the term NATION. In the heat of political controversy, any attempt to bring sanity to bear on the subject under discussion seems futile. It is the opinion of the author that the scientific and universally accepted usage of the term NATION has been conspicuous by its absence in the aforesaid controversy. With great diffidence, the author has made a humble attempt to approach this thorny question objectively and in an absolutely unbiased manner. He is conscious of his own limitations and the difficulties involved in the treatment of the subject. He is not a member of any political party, and has no axe to grind. He is an Indian citizen, and a Christian by faith and conviction. Although he denies the existence of two or more nations in India on scientific grounds, he does not entirely absolve the Hindus and other interested parties from the responsibility of having forced and driven the Mussalmans to the cry of Pakistan.

The first chapter is devoted to terminology and the definition of terms. Race as a factor in nationhood and national evolution is discussed in the second chapter. In the third, the Indian racial homogeneity and diversity as they affect the formation of a nation-state, are outlined. That the various social conflicts in India are not due to racial but to social, economic and political differences is critically examined in the fourth chapter. It is pointed

ARE WE TWO-NATIONS?

out in the fifth chapter that, though the whole country was brought under a single administration in 1858, there was very little scope for political initiative as the subjugation of India was thorough and complete. The dawn of Indian freedom is presented in the sixth chapter in which the unanimity on the part of all political parties in demanding independence and the spontaneous desire for national emancipation are stressed. The various and diverse manifestations of nationalism are indicated in the seventh chapter. The eighth chapter emphasises the force of Indian public opinion and the unity of India; it also indicates the emergence of the nation-state and the utter folly of submitting our supreme loyalties to the nation-god especially in the atomic age; and finally, it stresses the need for a parliament of man, a federation of free peoples and the establishment of a world-state to introduce universal economic and social democracy. The ninth chapter systematically traces the origin and growth of the Pakistan demand. In the tenth chapter, attention is drawn to the fact that a divided India may become a political non-entity in the modern world of multi-national states, but a united India has still a chance to live and flourish as a classless social order. Tennyson's dream may yet come true :—

Till the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-
flags were furl'd

In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the
world.

There the common sense of most shall hold a fretful
realm in awe,

And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal
law.

Four valuable Appendices, a comprehensive Bibliography and an Index appear at the end of this volume.

A Postscript will be added to cover the most recent events connected with the Cabinet Mission and the Constituent Assembly.

INTRODUCTION

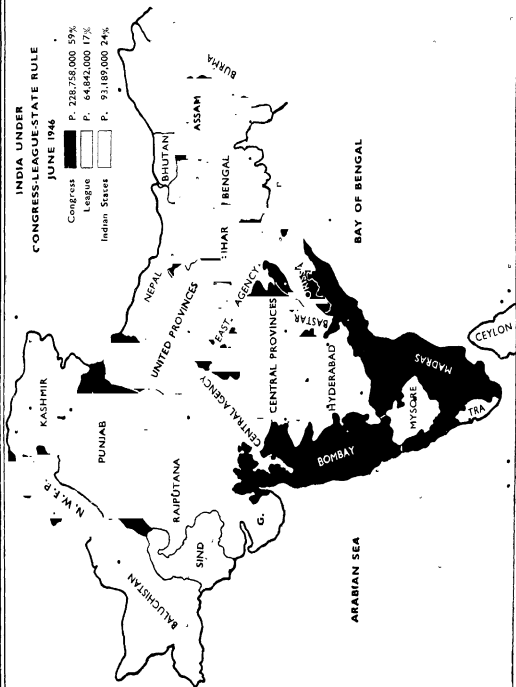
The author has had the unique advantage of discussing the TWO-NATION THEORY and the Pakistan issue with his Hindu, Muslim and Sikh students in the University of the Punjab and the Forman College. The Panjab is a Muslim majority province where the Sikhs held the supreme political sway only a hundred years ago, and where there is a powerful Hindu population. It is indeed most refreshing to note that, on these complicated and debatable issues, the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh students do not think in compartments. There are radical differences of opinion among each of these groups. The author also has had the pleasure of conversations with the Muslim Leaguers, Congressmen, Communists and Mahasabhaites on this problem.

Every important fact mentioned or opinion expressed is documented. But for the wealth of information and fund of knowledge that the author was able to draw from the writings of outstanding scholars and thinkers of the world this piece of research would have never seen the light of day. He could never be sufficiently grateful to these authors and their publishers. He hopes that he has not infringed any copyright, and if he has, it has been done inadvertently, and he asks the indulgence of the owner. Sources are acknowledged and references are invariably given wherever they are necessary. Most of the authorities referred to in this volume are European, British or American. Since his return to India, he has availed himself of innumerable opportunities of studying the situation first hand.

It is acknowledged with gratitude that Miss I. R. Warren of the C.L.S., Madras, was generous enough to design the outer cover for this book. The illustrations at the beginning of each chapter were drawn by Miss Warren exclusively for this book. The other illustrations in this volume were also drawn by Miss Warren, and are the property of the C.L.S., of which W. H.

INDIA UNDER
CONGRESS-LEAGUE-STATE RULE
JUNE 1946

| | | |
|---------------|----------------|-----|
| Congress | P. 228,758,000 | 59% |
| League | P. 64,842,000 | 17% |
| Indian States | P. 93,189,000 | 24% |



ARE WE TWO-NATIONS?

Warren, Esq., is the Secretary. Their co-operation is deeply appreciated: Mr. Sant Ram Bhatia, Secretary of the India Book League, prepared the Index. Miss Charlotte Chandler Wyckoff of Jothy Nilayam Rural Centre, Muttathoor, kindly read the proofs. Rev. Clarence Falk, Messrs. J. D. Patial, Om Prakash Sabharwal, Chatter Singh, Abdul Gaffoor Butt and Mrs. Vairanapillai read parts of this volume and offered valuable suggestions. Mrs. Vairanapillai and Milton Williams are also responsible for the charts, tables and maps. Mr. Shambunath Khanna typed the entire manuscript. A Muslim friend of mine, a staunch Pakistani, suggested the main title. Mr. V. M. Philip and his colleagues in the Diocesan Press have been very helpful. However, the author alone is responsible for the errors that may be found and the opinions expressed.

WEST HALL,
FORMAN COLLEGE, LAHORE,
June 8, 1946.

SAM VAIRANAPILLAI.

CHAPTER I

DEFINITION OF TERMS



A. What is a Nation?

The word 'nation' has been an ambiguous term for a long time, and to-day, few people use it in its correct sense.¹ When the scientific usage of this word is almost entirely absent even among the so-called intellectuals, the rank and file of the people can hardly be expected to use it correctly. In popular usage and scientific discussion it has brought about much confusion and misunderstanding. For the last one hundred years, the term 'nation' has been used by 'scholars, statesmen and politicians to convey altogether different meanings, and the word itself has meant one thing to one set of people and quite another thing to others.

Sometimes, 'state' and 'nation' are rightly or wrongly identified with each other.² In a number of instances the terms 'nation' and 'nationality' are confused with each other. During recent times, the term 'nation' has been used by many writers including political scientists in an exclusively political sense, that is, the German nation, the British nation, the American nation, etc., but its cultural usage has not been alto-

¹ Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, 1 ff.

Garner, *Political Science and Government*, 109.

² *Ibid.*, 110.

gether unknown or uncommon ; in fact, it is as widespread as its political usage : the Jewish nation, the Slavic nation, the Armenian nation, etc. In this respect, if the terms 'nation' and 'state' are identical in meaning and content, then the Jewish, the Armenian and the Slavic nations which did not possess a state for centuries were not really nations. On the other hand, these so-called nations, like many others, have been subjected to the rule of one state or another for ages.

According to strictly scientific usage the terms 'nation' and 'nationality' are not one and the same. Almost every day, we hear people talk, or read in books or newspapers, about the American or Turkish nation even though they are made up of many nationalities ; in fact, almost every nationality under heaven is represented in the American Union. Once, there were as many as twenty nationalities in the Ottoman state. There is an Arab nationality even though there is no Arab nation. The Arabs are scattered all over Arabia, Egypt, Syria and Palestine. The British nation consists of many nationalities—the Welsh, Scotch, English, Irish and others.

Much less can the state and nationality mean one and the same thing. There is practically no state in the world which does not have several if not many nationalities, and there is not a single nationality which has been exclusively organized into a state. Switzerland, Germany, Britain, Canada, Soviet Russia, Turkey and practically every state in the world comprehend more than one nationality. The history of the last one thousand years does not produce a significant illustration of a single nationality maintaining itself as a state for any considerable length of time. It is indeed equally difficult to find a state entirely dependent on a single nationality for its existence.

It is unquestionably beyond dispute that nation, nationality and state may convey altogether different in-

terpretations depending upon the person, usage, time and place. There are cultural, ethnic, political and etymological usages. Therefore, our first effort should be to clarify the proper usage of the terms and their exact meaning and content, so that we may be able to use these terms and terminologies in their true perspective. Definition of terms is an essential basis for a scientific approach and investigation. Unless the scientific meaning and usage of these terms are ascertained, our procedure will be utterly unscientific. Subjective approach and speculation are bound to lead us in the path of emotionalism and irrationality.

What, then, is a nation? Nation is derived from the Latin word 'natio' or 'natus' meaning birth, origin or race. Etymologically nation, then, is a people of common racial origin.¹ 'It signified a tribe or a social grouping based on real or fancied community of blood and possessed presumably of unity of language'² Another eminent American social scientist, Harry Elmer Barnes, defines it as a 'culturally homogeneous social group, which is at once conscious and tenacious of its unity of psychic life and expression,' and he goes on to say, 'the most fundamental basis and characteristic of a nation, then, is cultural homogeneity, from which the will to exist in contiguity naturally proceeds. If such a group is at the same time politically organized within a given territory it may then be designated a national state.'³

During the Middle Ages, the universities of Europe in general and the English, French and Austrian Universities in particular, used the word 'nation' to designate students from certain provinces or small administrative areas; in this sense, the nation meant a locality or a well demarcated area.⁴ The Universities of the

¹ Hayes, *op. cit.*, 4.

Garner, *op. cit.*, 110 ff.

² Hayes, *Ibid.*

³ Barnes, *History and Social Intelligence*, 145.

⁴ Hayes, *Ibid.*, See foot-note.

Middle Ages, then, did not think of the term 'nation' in terms of racial, linguistic or tribal groups. These learned circles did not assign any cultural or ethnic meaning to this now much disputed term.

The German writers have consistently assigned the etymological meaning to this term, and correctly use the term in its ethnic sense. The English equivalent is 'nationality', a word hardly one hundred and fifty years old in the history of English literature.¹ In English, the meaning of the word 'nation' is altogether different from the German usage. Because the German usage assigns to the word 'nation' its original etymological meaning, it is strictly scientific and accurate. The German writers, unlike the British, use it purely in its ethnic sense. In English the term 'nation', far from its original and consequently ethnical meaning, has acquired, through the decades, a political meaning the exact etymological equivalent of which in German is 'VOLK'. The word 'people' (as also the French 'peuple') in the English language is identical with the German 'volk'.² Though the German usage of the term 'nation' is much more accurate and scientific, it must be admitted that the English usage of the term is fairly widespread, and in fact, universal.³ Political scientists and writers now readily recognize the meaning that the English usage has come to acquire.⁴ In fact, 'nation' and 'state' are synonymously used in the English-speaking countries of the world. As we are writing in English, and this study is primarily meant for the English-speaking peoples, we shall follow the English usage.

In other words, 'nation' has come to mean a political state exercising absolute sovereignty over all its citizens and over all its affairs through its government and laws. It is more comprehensive and all-inclusive

¹ *Ibid.*

² Gilchrist, *Principles of Political Science*, 29-30

³ Garner, *op. cit.*, 110

⁴ Gilchrist, *Ibid.*

than the word 'nationality'. A nation may include within its sovereign power many nationalities, castes, tribes, communities and classes as in the case of Soviet Russia, the United States of America, Brazil, or Turkey. But a nationality, though desirous of a nation-state, is scarcely interested in the political domination of other nations. Nationality is almost always part and parcel of a nation. The Welsh and the English are included in the British nation just as many nationalities are gathered together in the Chinese, Turkish or Russian nation. When one speaks of the nation, one merely speaks of the state. 'Nation' and 'State' are synonymous terms.

The word 'people' unlike the word 'nation' is often used in the cultural and social sense, and, therefore, does not convey to us the same meaning as the latter does. 'Peoples and nations are the product of history. A people comes into being by a slow psychological process, in which a mass of men gradually develop a type of life and society which differentiates them from others, and becomes the fixed inheritance of their race . . . To form a people, the experiences and fortunes of several generations must co-operate, and its permanence is never secured until a succession of families handing down its accumulated culture from generation to generation has made its characteristics hereditary. The rise of the nation implies merely a political process, the creation of a state.'¹

Hereafter, 'nation', then, will be used to designate 'the population of a sovereign political state, regardless of any racial and linguistic unity.'² The lack of common origin, racial unity, common language and traditions may not hinder the formation of a nation. Irrespective of all these factors and forces, the term 'nation' is the designation for the citizens of a sovereign state. It is a politically organized and aggregated community, ab-

¹ Bluntschli, *The Theory of the State*, 87; Hayes, 5.

² *Ibid.*

solutely supreme over its subjects, exercising its power through its government, laws, institutions and various other means without let or hindrance by any other power within or without unless by its consent or mutual agreement.¹

Naturally, the question arises as to how such a phenomenon as the nation comes into being, and what forces and factors are brought into play for the making of the nation-state. Society, as it is, is the work of ages. There were men long before there was a society. Society is merely a stage in human evolution, and a nation, like many other human associations and institutions, represents an aspect of society. Society and nation are not identical terms, for there was a society long before there was a nation. A nation like a society is a historical process; it cannot exist without a society, but society can, and has existed irrespective of the state. In fact, society's contribution to the making of the nation needs no explanation, as many factors, forces and patterns that we observe in society have gone into the making of the nation-state. An eminent British scholar states, 'Though neither the occupation of a defined area, nor community of race, language, religion, government or economic interests are indispensable to national self consciousness, each of these factors constitutes a powerful tie and tends to produce the cohesiveness and solidarity in which the strength of the nation resides.'² Renan, a great French writer, in his celebrated essay, '*Qu'est Ce Qu'une Nation?*' (What Constitutes A Nation?) stresses the 'Will' to be a nation as the most important factor in its formation.³ There have been societies which never achieved a nation. A nation is an achievement of society.

¹ Garner, 229-235

² Gooch, *Nationalism*, 6.

³ Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, 210 ff.

Gooch, 7

Renan, *Discours et conférences*, 306-307.

B. What is a Nationality?

Having defined the term 'nation', we must now proceed to define the difficult term 'nationality'. Before the nineteenth century, there was no such word as nationality in the English language. Both these terms had the same origin, but the meaning that each of these terms conveys is very different. Scholars give conflicting interpretations to these widely used terms, and it is not surprising that people to whom no scholarship could be assigned use the term 'nationality' in a wide variety of ways.

Nationality may mean 'a group of persons speaking the same language and observing the same customs.'¹ Yet, a group of people who may speak the same language and observe the same customs may not belong to the same nationality. In the United States of America, the Negroes, the Mexicans, the Germans, the Japanese, the Jews, the Italians, the Greeks and the Irish who speak the English language and observe the American customs, are not from one and the same nationality. These different nationalities, now under the United States government, had belonged to various separate nationalities recognised as such in history and literature for centuries. Instances of this type can be multiplied. Today, all those who speak the English language and observe the English customs are not necessarily of the English nationality. There are many Germans who speak French perfectly. The customs and manners in Europe, populated by many nationalities speaking as many languages, are more or less universal. It is also probable that the same nationality may not speak the same language or observe the same customs: if you consider the Negroes to be of one and the same nationality, how can you account for the fact that they, instead of following the same customs or speaking the same language, speak different languages and observe different customs according to the time and place of living? The

¹ Hayes, *Ibid.*

Hindus and the Indian Muslims, whose claim to be considered as a nationality is indeed considerable, speak different languages and observe different customs in the various parts of India.

An outstanding American historian states, 'Nationality has been regarded as the legitimate and natural outcome of family, tribal and racial organization.'¹ This writer stresses the sociological and historical process, particularly on the organizational side, as a fundamental basis for the evolution of a nationality. Ever since man began to develop social organizations and institutions, at one stage, he has been able to achieve what is now called nationality. It is universally agreed that family is the oldest social organization indicating the development in social consciousness and organization. Nationality, according to this writer, is an expansion of the same pattern as the family or the joint-family. It is this feeling of unity and social solidarity that has been responsible for the making of a nationality.²

In the opinion of John Stuart Mill, 'a portion of mankind may be said to constitute nationality, if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and any others—which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be government by themselves or a portion of themselves exclusively.'³ Mill goes on to enumerate other factors such as the identity of race and descent, community of language, religion and interests, geographical advantages, possession of a common national history, identity of political antecedents, community of recollections, collective pride and humiliations, pleasures and regrets.⁴ It is clear that many factors and forces are at work for the realization of nationality. Though no single factor or a combination

¹ Stephens, 'Nationality and History,' *The American Historical Review*, XXI, Jan., 1916, 228 ff.

² Pillsbury, *The Psychology of Nationalism and Internationalism*, 21-62.

³ Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, 120 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*

of factors can bring about the formation of a nationality, these factors and forces will greatly facilitate the growth of nationality-groups. The history of the Poles, Slavs, Italians, Germans, Turks, Arabs and Jews is a living testimony to the contention of Mill.

There is a legal meaning to the term 'nationality'.¹ It may designate the status of a person attached to a state, or an alien in an alien state. Writers on Soviet Russia, the United States of America and Latin America refer to the alien groups in these respective countries as nationalities. The immigration authorities, particularly in the U.S.A., refer to the foreign immigrants as belonging to alien nationalities. The term 'nationality' may be conferred on any group enjoying or desiring citizenship-rights in a given state. Nationality may sometimes be synonymous with citizenship: people speak of being British subjects even though they may be Indians, Negroes, Burmans or Arabs. When we speak of American nationality in a legal sense, we mean that a certain group of persons or people are American citizens even though they may be of Jewish, Italian or German origin. Nationality when legally applied comprehends every individual in a given state. On the other hand, every person in a state considers himself or herself to be part and parcel of the nationality composing that state irrespective of language, religion, economic interests, race, common national history, collective recollection, and community of purpose. The legal meaning of the term ignores all these factors and forces that Mill contends as necessary for the formation of a nationality.

Sir Alfred E. Zimmern who enjoys an international reputation as a political scientist writes that 'nationality is group consciousness.'² The psychological basis of nationality is an undisputed fact, but it must not be supposed that every group with a group consciousness of its own is a nationality or is bound to be one. Nq

¹ Joseph, *Nationality: Its Nature and Problems*, 19 ff.

² Zimmern, 'Nationalism and Internationalism', *Foreign Affairs*, June, 1923, I, 115-126.

nationality is possible without group consciousness even though group consciousness cannot and does not always produce a nationality. Prof. Stephens' thesis is that nationality is a 'result of neighbourhood feeling.'¹ In 1936, when the author visited Palestine, he found the Arabs and the Armenians enjoying each other's confidence to the utmost possible extent, but the neighbourhood feeling could not make these two nationalities into one. Today, they are far from being a single nationality. There may not be any neighbourhood feeling between one set of Italians and another; yet the lack of it does not make these two sets of Italians into two nationalities. The lack of neighbourhood feeling among the various sections of the Germans has not prevented them from being a nationality. Therefore, the presence of fellow feeling alone does not guarantee the formation of a nationality which can exist even when such a neighbourly feeling is absent although it is an important force in the development of national consciousness.

Though no single factor is solely responsible for the making of a nationality, the discussion of the factors and forces making for nationality and the light that many eminent men have thrown upon the subject emphasize the necessity of a fundamental basis for the growth and development of nationality. Nationality thus involves a psychological affinity for one another among a group of people; it often reminds them of a common past with its tragedies, humiliations, joys, victories and defeats. A common language and literature bind and inspire them. Common heroes become their ideal and inspiration. They instinctively consider themselves to be different from others and attach themselves to one another in times of danger. Common aspirations and future hopes drive them toward political and economic activities in the interest of the group. A glorious past,

¹ Stephens, *Ibid.*

Mun, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, 38

real or otherwise, and especially a more glorious future are no mean incentives for the solidification of the group into a nationality. Community of religion is, and has been a nationalising force among many groups of people, and even today it has a tremendous hold on the Jews, Hindus, Muslims, and others. 'Nationality is a link between immemorial generations spreading backwards and forwards.'¹ The most significant and striking definition of nationality is that of Bluntschli's for whom it designates 'a union of masses of men of different occupations and social strata and hereditary society, common spirit, feeling and race bound together especially by language and customs in a common civilization which gives them a sense of unity and distinction from all foreigners quite apart from the bond of the state.'²

In this definition, the emphasis which we cannot fail to note is not on religion, race or language but on the fact that nationality is something different from a nation-state in so far that it can continue to live and flourish and have a peculiar bond of unity apart from the one that state alone can give. Occupation, social distinction and ancestry do not play a vital part. For example, an Englishman considers himself as such irrespective of his political, social or religious affiliations. That he is a barber, soldier, undertaker, engineer or cook does not make any difference to him. He may live in the slums of East London or in a Governor's mansion in India or in the Viceregal lodge or the Salvation Army quarters; his fore-fathers may have been the Normans, Jews, Romans, Jutes, Saxons, Celts, or Danes; he may not know anything of his ancestry; but these things do not alter the fact that an Englishman is first and last an Englishman. An Englishman may speak and write poorer English than an Indian Matriculate; though proud of Milton, Shakespeare and Bunyan, he may never have read *Paradise Lost*, *Othello* or *Pilgrim's Progress*;

¹ Zimmern, *Nationality and Government*, 78.

² Bluntschli, *The Theory of the State*, 90.

Joseph, *op. cit.*, 308-309.

he may be a Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist or an atheist; he may be a communist, socialist, liberal or conservative or a one party man; he may not understand the constitution of his country, much less the Crown, King in Parliament, or the consent of the governed; he may be a genius or an idiot; the fact remains that an Englishman is always an Englishman irrespective of all other considerations. The fact that fifteen hundred years ago, there was not a single Englishman, there was no English language or literature, and that there was no country by the name of England, and that an Englishman is something of everything and everything of something does not alter his conviction that he and his tribe are peculiar among the rest of mankind. This sentiment dominates his whole personality. One may not be able to analyse it, and it may be purely irrational; and yet it is overwhelming and penetrating in its influence. He is a slave to this sentiment and takes pride in the fact that he is an Englishman. And what is true of an Englishman is generally true of an American, German, Italian, Jew, Japanese, Chinese, and, in fact, true of every people to a greater or lesser degree. It is this sense of social solidarity that constitutes nationality.

We, therefore, conclude that the nation, like the state, is a politically aggregated community with absolute sovereign power. Nation and state are inter-changeable terms, and are used to convey the same meaning. We have also seen that nationality (apart from its special legal meaning) is used to describe and denote a group with a sense of common social solidarity without any reference to political implications. 'It is a body of people who feel themselves to be naturally linked together by certain affinities which are so strong and real for them that they can live happily together, are dissatisfied when dis-united, and cannot tolerate subjection to peoples who do not share their ties.'¹

C. What is Nationalism?

Like the word 'nationality' the term 'nationalism' did not find a place in the English dictionary until the beginning of the last century. There have been many manifestations of nationalism from the time of recorded history, and the feeling of nationalism has been expressed in one form or the other ever since man became a social animal. But the sentiments and feelings of the tribal man did not constitute the manifestations of a nation-state. The Greeks, Persians, Egyptians, Jews, Macedonians, Gauls, Britons, and later on the Turks, Arabs, Hindus, Afghans, Mongols, and the Chinese were not free from sentiments and feelings which we conveniently call 'nationalism.' However, the sentiment of nationalism in its modern sense, as a creed of the nation-state, is only about two hundred years old.

There is a great variety of definitions of nationalism. It may be defined as a 'collective sentiment of a people.'¹ It may be described as a corporate feeling of a group of people occupying a particular territory with or without the status of a nation: the Arabs, the Irish, the Jews in the U.S.A., the Slavs and the Poles may be cited as instances. Common origin, common language, common traditions, common aspirations, common economic interests, common territory, community of religion, class and ideals, common humiliations, defeats and victories and a common history are all contributing factors to the growth and development of nationalism.² It should also be stated that all these factors, 'whether se-

¹ *Ibid.*, 38-54.

Hayes, 4-28.

Gooch, 5-8.

Gilchrist, 31-48.

Pillsbury, 7-20.

Garner, 109 ff.

Rose, *Nationality in Modern History*, 140-143.

Robinson, 'What Is National Spirit?' *Century Magazine*, Nov., 1916, 57-64.

Joseph, 20-27.

Zimmern, *Foreign Affairs*, *op. cit.*, 115-126.

² Gilchrist, 31.

parately or altogether or in any combination may not guarantee the formation of a nation; nor could these factors necessarily produce virulent nationalism in each and every nationality: the Negroes in Africa and America, the Tibetans, the Eskimoes, and more especially the Hindus and Muslims in India are standing illustration of this fact even though some kind of national sentiment is not entirely absent even among these people. Also, the Jews in Germany and in Britain, and various national groups in various nation-states of the world, and particularly in South America clearly illustrate this fact.

Modern nationalism of the last one hundred years differs in various respects from its earlier manifestations: it has become the creed and practice of many nations. The nationalism of Britain, Japan, the U.S.S.R., Germany, the U.S.A., Italy, France and several other countries has sought to express itself in and through the organs of their respective states.² It has endeavoured to be self-sufficient in the economic realm: the history of modern Turkey and Soviet Russia will illustrate this opinion.³ Nationalism also may designate the movement and activity of a particular party: the Nazi party in Germany, the Fascists in Italy, the Communists in Soviet Russia and the Kuomintang in China may elucidate this point.⁴ It may also imply a set of principles, philosophies, theories, tendencies, doctrines and policies in the conduct and practices of nations like Italy, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Germany.⁵ It may even be a condition of mind which may cover a multitude of sins cherishing some sort of mission to the so-called 'less civilized' peoples, pretending to save civilization under the cloak of righteousness and giving the world through subtle propaganda the impression that her cause is just and unselfish. Such a Messianic complex gives the impression that she is a martyr for the cause of humanity.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*

² Laski, 213.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Hayes, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

Aggressive and bellicose national egoism may even go to the extent of openly declaring to the world, 'My country, may she always be in the right, but right or wrong, my country.' Even a most casual student of modern history will not fail to note the different degrees of national insanity among the so-called 'great' countries. The many ways in which the nation-state has sought to express this sentiment and egoism are so apparent that instances and illustrations will be merely superfluous.

Nationalism has also been a historical force.¹ During the long historical process, sentiments and feelings that we now characterise as nationalism have gone into the making of nationalities and nations. Bulgaria, Rumania, modern Greece, Italy, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Germany, Poland, Japan, and the U.S.A. are a standing monument to this historical evolution, and the part that nationalism played in the formation of these nations does not demand any explanation. It may be safely said that the wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were nationalistic wars. Nations fought each other in the name of the nation, and for national ends. H. G. Wells, Iqbal and Tagore are of opinion that nationalism eventually leads to war. It may be stated without any fear of contradiction that nationalism has been a potent cause of all modern wars. Wars make and unmake nations. Nationalism can create as well as destroy nations. Eminent historians have recognized it as a great force for good or evil as it affects millions of people the world over. Nationalism sometimes appears as the movement of the whole nation, especially during the time of war. It supersedes all moral implications; in fact, it knows no moral or ethical standards. Nationalists may recognize might as right, and under the spell of nationalism, might is right. In one sense, it is an intangible expression of a nation or nationality bound by intense group consciousness, inti-

¹ *Ibid.*

macy and dignity¹ with regard to their homeland.¹ It can be a mania, 'psychosis or neurosis tremendously affecting human lives. As a force in history, it has unlimited possibilities for good or evil.

There are many types and varieties of nationalism. The nationalism of the Jews, Egyptians, Chinese, Arabs, Irish, and many other nationalities in the Balkans may be characterised as 'oppression nationalism', owing to their constant political and economic subordination to a foreign yoke or external aggression. Foreign domination and exploitation invariably produces this type of nationalism among subject peoples.² Indian nationalism belongs to this variety. The denial of elementary political, economic and civic rights combined with a high-handedness in internal affairs by an undesirable alien power has set ablaze the fire of nationalism among the enslaved peoples and nationalities all over Asia and Africa, and its scope is merely political freedom and independence from foreign oppression and control.

French nationalism belongs to the category of 'precaution nationalism'. More than any other nation, France had often asked for guarantees from other powers against Germany, and had kept herself in a state of unbalanced emotional tension owing to a real or imaginary enemy. This type of nationalism, under the cloak of 'security', 'self-defence' and 'safety', has forced a great many European powers to prepare for war under the pretence of 'maintaining peace.' The British, and recently the Americans, have been proverbial for a 'prestige' and 'messianic' nationalism. When he returned from the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Disraeli, the Asiatic Prime Minister of Great Britain, declared that he had brought 'peace with honour'. What he meant was that he was able to maintain the British prestige in the East, by humiliating Russia and vindicating the British supremacy in European affairs, and

¹ Zimmern, *op. cit.*, 18.

² Handman, 'Sentiment of Nationalism,' *Political Science Quarterly*, XXXVI, March, 1929, 104-121.

more especially by secretly securing Cyprus from Turkey without shedding a drop of British blood. Or, take an example in American history! 'Remember the *Maine*!'¹ The sinking of the battleship *Maine* which let war fever rise to white heat in the U.S.A., forcing war on Spain after the latter had conceded almost all the demands of the United States even though Spain did not sink the *Maine* as was alleged, is only one instance in the annals of the United States when 'prestige nationalism' sent thousands of young men to death and caused death to thousands of men and women. The ruthless way the Boxer Rebellion was put down by the 'great' powers is another glaring example. Prestige nationalism has forced nations to tumble in the balance. Kipling's prosody on the White Man's Burden is symptomatic of 'messianic nationalism' which lays claim to the 'trusteeship' of helpless peoples who, much against their will, become 'sacred trusts.' President McKinley's now famous statement, 'there was nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize them, and by God's grace do the very best by them as our fellowmen for whom Christ 'also died,'² is a significant expression of 'messianic nationalism.'

Nationalism is an inevitable factor in every society which has not outgrown its primitive tribalism or its ancient savage clannishness. It is a 'never-dying primitive impulse of tribal solidarity.'³ To an individual or a group of people lacking intellectual objectivity or discipline, much less the power of analysis, it may become a highly 'sophisticated product of theories and assumptions,' and may assert the existence of a pure race, a noble language and a 'mission' to the world⁴. The sense of tribal solidarity and the false assumptions and claims regarding race and language can be witnessed in the conduct and

¹ Swain, *Beginning the Twentieth Century*, 181.

² Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, 376.

³ Robinson, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁴ Fichte, *Address to the German Nation*. All the lectures are saturated with powerful national sentiment.

behaviour of many national groups. When a nation or people speak of their 'mission' for some other people, we may fairly assume that they suffer from a false sense of superiority, and therefore, are not in a balanced state of mind.

Nationalism also has played a creative role : it may teach a people self-reliance, self-respect and self-sacrifice, and achieve for them an honourable and equal place among the family of nations. The rise of social consciousness and the development of legitimate hopes and aspirations for the betterment of a given group may be the work of nationalist forces. Nationalism has been the cause of many social, economic, legal, political and educational reforms. The burning desire to be free and independent from all enslavement and thralldom ; the passion for justice and fair play among the members of the same nationality as well as among others ; the willingness to reform and reconstruct one's own social, political, religious and economic life and institutions in accordance with the highest morality now known to them ; and the spirit of co-operation in a common endeavour to promote social, economic and educational progress may be largely due to the impetus that nationalism can give. The revolutionary changes in the life of Soviet Russia, Turkey and China were largely engineered by the forces of nationalism bringing the mighty currents of moral and intellectual energy to move the wheel of progress on a national scale without injury or harm to any outside interests. Democratic movements, and movements that aim at the introduction of political and industrial democracy, usually draw their inspiration from nationalism, within and without. Such movements are directed towards the elimination of privileges, exploitation, injustice and inequalities. Creative nationalism levels to the ground the differentiations based on every form of oligarchy, and raises the rank and file to a high level of social and intellectual life. As a purely domes-

tic movement, it can be a 'dynamic expression of the cultural and political activities and ambitions of a nation,'¹ and effect far-reaching moral and material progress.

Some people identify nationalism with patriotism. Love of one's own fatherland or motherland is as natural as breath, and stories of patriotism and patriots have inspired the youth of every land for a selfless service to their fellowmen. Washington, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Bismarck, William Tell, Sun Yat-sen, Stalin and Gandhi will continue to inspire men and women for centuries to come. The martyrdom of hundreds of patriotic national heroes and their self-sacrificing life and character will be a source of inspiration to others to achieve a full measure of social, economic, and political justice. Even though Dr. Samuel Johnson, who cherished nothing but contempt for the Scots and especially for their patriotic sentiments, cynically defined patriotism as 'the last refuge of a scoundrel' in the first English dictionary ever written, Sir Walter Scott's immortal verse, 'Breathes there the man with soul so dead', will assign to the spirit of patriotism a legitimate place among human sentiments.

But it is indeed very difficult to demarcate patriotism from nationalism. In origin and nature, they have many things in common. Each has potentialities for creative or destructive ends, and patriotism may lead to regeneration or to death and destruction. When a man achieves a high degree of intellectual maturity and objectivity, to him, as to Professor Barnes, 'nationalism and patriotism are sentiments not less barbarous and uncivilized than racial egoism and arrogance, to which they are closely, if fallaciously, allied.'² It is not altogether improbable that patriotism, in its unfortunate aspect, may be a 'tendency to place a particularly excessive, exaggerated, exclusive emphasis on the value of the nation at the expense of other values, which leads to a

¹ Barnes, *op. cit.*, 145.

² *Ibid.*, 15.

vain and importunate over-estimation of one's own nation and thus to the detraction of others.'¹

Nationalism or patriotism in this peculiar respect is chauvinism. It is aggressive and militant. It thrives at the destruction of other peoples, and aims at their humility. The Italian crime in Ethiopia is one example. Steadily it becomes a passion of intense emotional outburst. With the help of the press, radio, schools, colleges, and the forces of 'law and order', it shows unbridled hostility toward every foreign manifestation without questioning objectively its intrinsic worth. Regimentation in internal affairs and bellicose chauvinism in foreign affairs are sure indications of this uncontrolled emotionalism. It provokes and is easily provoked. Its provocative speeches and jingoistic journalism make the nation-state an international bully. Beneath such a phenomenon may be found political, social, economic and religious motives which an average person may not be able to detect. The demand for autonomous and independent government on the part of each nationality or a part of that nationality irrespective of larger interests, and sometimes at the expense of other nationalities, is one of the symptoms of this chauvinistic fever. This type of unbalanced emotionalism may lead any people to unforeseen consequences: 'the Italians will not serve the Austrians, as the Bulgar will not serve the Turk. It has sought frontiers that imply strategic security; France must have the Rhine as a barrier against German invasion. It has revived and developed the theories of Colbertism, and has sought, by means of the tariff, to make every nation a complete economic unit. And having come to be, it has insisted that growth is the concomitant of life. Colonies, protectorates, spheres of influence, hinterlands of legitimate aspiration—all of these are the expression of that luxuriance of spirit which implies that a nation is mature.'²

¹ Boehm, 'Nationalism,' *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, XI, 231 ff.

² Laszli, *op cit*, 218-219.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Nationalism eventually leads to the worship of the state, and the nation-state becomes the supreme divinity. Nationalism, in fact, has become the religion of many nations. True to the Hegelian, Machiavellian, Treitschian and Mazzinian theory of nationalism, nation becomes the 'ultimate unit in human organization and, accordingly, the ultimate unit in human allegiance.'¹ The nation as the ultimate end in human evolution demands the supreme loyalty of its individual subjects. When humanity is thus organized on a national scale at the expense of individual conscience or wider human interests, each nation considering itself supreme and sovereign, then it is evident that the religion of nationalism is capable of sponsoring an anti-human political structure. Such a state-system, based on absolute national sovereignty is bound to bring one nation into conflict with another; as fear and distrust lead to secret or open preparations for war. The world naturally becomes an armed camp. And in the inevitable event of war, the citizens of the nations are expected and compelled to lay down their lives on the altar of the nation-god and for the glory of the nation-state.

In order to satisfy the national ego which a nation is bound to develop under the modern state system, the nation must so expand as to easily command such necessary products as wheat, butter, coal, iron, cotton and other products absolutely essential for war.'² The greatness of a nation, according to the nationalist cult, is usually in terms of the bigness of its army, navy and air-force, and therefore, every nerve must be strained to build up these forces of destruction. Strategic bases are secured and fortified by force or fraud. Chauvinistic politicians squander the nation's wealth and taxes in unproductive armaments and false propaganda. Military uniforms and compulsory military training in schools and colleges become the order of the day. Marriages are encouraged and even subsidised, for the deity of

¹ *Ibid.*, 222.

² *Ibid.*, 224 ff

nationalism expects its citizens to produce and dedicate children for national ends.¹ National nervousness is so great that an efficient spy system alone, both at home and abroad, can relieve this national insomnia. Our contemporary world is so full of this insanity that illustrations will be superfluous. Dorothy Thompson's contention that when national passion is at its worst, even history changes its form and content, is a correct observation. 'Mathematics is an international science; two and two make four and a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, whether you learn about it in Berlin, Paris, London, Moscow or St. Paul. The formula for insulin is the same wherever any one studies chemistry, and the laws of physics are pretty universally agreed upon. But history is taught for the glorification of the nation',² and she goes on to say that, 'ever since the eighteenth century all the twigs in all the public schools in the world have been bent in the direction of thinking their own country God's country, and the rest of the world inhabited by peoples congenitally tainted with original sin.'

'The heroic conception of history' is one of the most tragic effects of modern nationalism. 'Destiny' leading a nation to the foremost place among other nations has been a common belief of many misguided leaders of the nations. American, German, Italian and British histories abound with this irrational mentality that places its foremost emphasis on force as an instrument of justice in international relationship. 'The ability to fight was always the determining factor in international relations and this ability depended above all on the national will.'³ Every aspect of national life is proscribed in the proclamation of the 'manifest destiny.' The Church parades the nation's flag.⁴ Hymns of

¹ 'Mussolini's Message to Black-shirts,' *Keessing's Contemporary Archives*, 1934-1937, 1847, B.

² Thompson, 'A Suggestion for the Peace,' *Ladies Home Journal*, Feb. 1, 1943, 6.

³ Mussolini, *op. cit.*, 1937-1940, 3004 E.

⁴ Hutchinson, *World Revolution and Religion*, 98

praise are sung to the national god and his blessings are invoked on behalf of the nation. 'Prayers are offered for the strength and exaltation of 'God's own country'. 'May the Heaven-rescued land praise the Power that made and preserved us a nation! Then conquer we must when our cause is just.' Again,

'For her our prayers shall rise
To God above the skies,
On Him we wait;
Thou who art ever nigh,
Guarding with watchful eye,
To thee above we cry,
God save the State.'

These and several other nationalist hymns have found a place in the Church hymnals.¹ It is often alleged that 'trade follows the missionary'.¹ 'While the missionary preached, their land was filched from them by the farmer, miner, and sugarcane planter. Today the native people, who number four-fifths of the population of the Union of South Africa, own only one-thirteenth of the land.'² The murder of missionaries by an insane mob in a far off land has often been the cause of state intervention in the internal affairs of a weak country for 'concessions' and extra-territorial rights.³ The clergy of the nation often tend to share the nation's 'mission' to the world and find an authoritative basis in the holy scriptures in order to justify the unscrupulous and unjust actions on the part of the nation. A nation may thus acquire a sense of 'moral exaltation'.⁴ The feeling of nationalism is so alluring that even sane people are not aware of the fact that it may eat into the vitals of some of the most human and creative aspects of our common heritage.

Nationalism as imperialism is a most dangerous phenomenon. Here again, the missionary is accused of being a fore-runner of imperialism. This allegation is generally untrue, and it is mostly based on prejudice.

¹ *Ibid.*, 74.

² *Ibid.*, 81.

³ Swain, 16, 183, 229, 232.

⁴ Tagore, *Nationalism*, 132.

But his unselfish efforts among a foreign people may sometimes have been advantageously used by national imperialism for its own selfish ends thus giving a false impression to an uncritical mind. The life and work of William Carey in Bengal is one great monument to the fact that the objective of the Western missionary is totally different from that of a banker, planter or trader. It must be also admitted that a great many missionaries have not only openly declared against the imperialistic activities of their own nation, but also have demonstrated that imperialism and Christianity contradict each other.¹

On the contrary, the trader, soldier, and sailor are the logical fore-runners of imperialism. The nation's navy guards the sea-routes and thus protects the nation's trader and banker while the army wages aggressive wars for the sale of the nation's goods and the extension of the nation's dominions. Trade, war, conquest, and treaties follow each other in rapid succession. Colonies are acquired as if by magic while the foreign office concludes military alliances, negotiates an armed peace and proposes secret treaties for the partition of another 'uncivilized country.' Imperialism reduces the nation to nothing short of a 'powder magazine, which a single chance spark may suffice to provoke into a conflagration.'² A victim of imperialism, addressing a representative of an imperial power, bursts out, 'You have grabbed this world empire during two or three centuries of most merciless and conscienceless thievery known to history. No means has been too base, no savagery too ruthless to resort to in the extension of your white domain.'³

Finally, we cannot conclude this chapter without making mention of the fact that nationalism can be deceptive and self-destructive. The history of modern Europe is one vast illustration of this gigantic folly which has made millions of young men cannon fodder, sending them to death and misery. The rule of the army and

¹ Ryburn and Falk, *Christianity Challenges Capitalism*, 17 ff.

² Laski, 225

³ Hutchinson, 97.

navy in Japan, the totalitarian regime in Italy and Germany, the vested interests of Britain in India and other parts of the world, the dictatorship of Wall Street in world politics, the internecine rupture among the South American countries, and the two world wars in less than one generation reveal the world's moral bankruptcy and national insanity. Heroic newspaper editorials that force governments in and out of power, unscientific racial theories that cause mass insanity, organised murder that is war, irrational and irresponsible conduct of politicians who plunge their countries as well as others to utter social chaos and the use of much boasted science to discover new methods of butchery are revelations of national lunacy. Nationalistic jingoism is destroyed by the very forces it creates. Clever lies that become a matter of self-congratulation ultimately betray their author. Solemn pledges and declarations like the 'Four Freedoms', the Atlantic Charter, and the 'Fourteen Points' become a farce laughable for their very solemnity and sacredness. 'The nation, with all its paraphernalia of power and prosperity, its flags and pious hymns, its blasphemous prayers in the churches, and the literary mock thunders of its patriotic bragging, cannot hide the fact that the nation is the greatest evil for the nation, that all its precautions are against it, and any birth of its fellow in the world is always followed in its mind by the dread of a new peril.' Destructive national egoism is utterly irrational and insuperably wicked.²

D. What is a State?

Mention has already been made that the word nation has come to acquire the same meaning and content as the word 'state' and that these two terms are used synonymously. The term 'state' as the term 'nation', has had a varied and conflicting history although it has ultimately

¹ Tagore, 'Nationalism in the West,' *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1917, 296.

² Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of its Origin and Background*, 'The New York Times' Book Review, April, 1944, 3.

come to acquire a strictly scientific meaning at present.¹ The contention that Aristotle, the 'father of political science,' and the Greeks were the first to think in terms of political conduct and state-craft can be challenged. State and state-craft had existed long before the time of the Greeks; but the Greeks were the first European people to be politically organized as were the Chinese several hundred years before them. They learned to assign correct terminologies to political institutions, patterns and ideas although they more often used the term 'city' as the embodiment of the state-system. The Romans and the Teutons used the term 'state' or its equivalent in one political sense or the other, but it was perhaps Niccolo Machiavelli who first introduced it in his famous book, *The Prince* (*Il Principe*, 1523).² Soon the word secured a place for itself in the French, English and German political literature.

Here we are neither concerned with the etymological meaning of the term 'state' as having something to do with that which is fixed or well established, nor with its other usages conveying one thing to one set of people and quite another to others as we are with its political meaning. At the very outset, it must be made clear that the term 'state' in modern political sense, is not the same as 'government', 'country' or 'society', or even the component members constituting a federation although all these terms may be distantly or closely related to the state.

One political scientist defines a state as 'an association which, acting through law as promulgated by a government endowed to this end with coercive power, maintains within a community territorially demarcated the universal external conditions of social order.'³ Laski describes a state as 'a way of organising the collective life of a given society. It is, indeed, legitimate to regard it not, indeed, as the society itself in its manifold

¹ Garner, *Political Science and Government*, 47 ff.

² Machiavelli, Niccolo, *The Prince and the Discourses*, 151 ff.

³ Maclver, R. M., *The Modern State*, 22.

complexities, but as an aspect of the society in which the totality of its life is, at least contingently, embraced. For since the coercive power of the state is supreme; there is, in theory, no activity within its jurisdiction the character of which it may not seek to define The modern citizen is enmeshed at every turn in the network of its operations. . . . The state needs a body of men who operate in its name the supreme coercive authority of which it disposes; and this body of men is what we term the government of the state.¹ Johannes Mattern, discussing state and sovereignty, states that, 'the essential and universal in State and Sovereignty are the presence of certain common interests in the group and the existence of a system of effectual control by the group over the individual for the attainments of these interests.'² Willoughby maintains that when a politically organized society becomes organized for 'the effectuation of certain general or, as they are called, political interests, and with a magistracy into whose hands is entrusted the exercise of its controlling authority, it assumes a political form, and a state is said to exist.'³ As for Esmein, the state and the nation are one and the same. 'Since the state is the nation, its life is as continuous as that of the nation. Governments, means of exercising sovereignty may change; but the state maintains itself irrespective of any changes, be they due to revolutions or elections. . . . Sovereignty is the public authority which resides in the nation and which expresses itself in both legislation and administration; government is sovereignty actually set at work.'⁴ Professor Garner's definition of the state based on a comprehensive knowledge of many recent, and ancient definitions is as satisfactory as any other. To him, 'the state, as a concept of political science and public law,

¹ Laški, *The State in Theory and Practice*, 22 ff.

² Mattern, J., *Concepts of State, Sovereignty and International Law*, p. XVII.

³ Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, 3.

⁴ Cohen, H. E., *Recent Theories of Sovereignty*, 15.

is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent, or nearly so, of external control, and possessing an organized Government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience¹

In all these definitions of the state, even the most casual reader can note that not one of these great writers, and many others who are too numerous to be mentioned here, has uttered one word about a common language, community of religion or identity of race as a factor in the making of the state. It is, indeed, significant that no mention is made of the cultural homogeneity, past victories or defeats, or future aspirations. Economic and social interests do not enter the arena when state is defined. In fact, none of the factors necessary for the formation of a nationality or a nation-state seems to be indispensable in any of these definitions, and consequently, in the making of the state. On the contrary, the foundations on which the state is said to exist are altogether different. Identity of race and blood exercises less power in the formation of the state than the community of interests, love of liberty and corporate political choice, combined in expressing the general will of the people.² Political nationalities are formed irrespective of ethnic nationalities. A state may possess many racial, linguistic and religious groups, but in all political matters and state-craft, they are a corporate whole rising far above social, religious, ethnic, economic and linguistic considerations although these factors manifest themselves in many ways in a politically organized society.³

In conclusion, it may be stated that state and society are not one and the same as the former is directly dependent on the latter and is fundamentally related to it; in fact, a state is an aspect of society. Therefore, a community of

¹ Garner, *op. cit.*, 52 ff., Sabine, G. H., *State*, 'Encyclopædia of the Social Sciences,' XIV, 328 ff.

² Rose, J. H., *Nationality in Modern History*, 140-143.

³ Laveleye, E., *Le Gouvernement dans la Démocratie*, I, 38.

persons is an indispensable factor for the formation of a state. In the second place, such a community of persons ought to be in possession of a well defined area, historically recognised as the homeland of such a community which must be numerous to demand recognition and attention. In the third place, when such a community of persons, permanently occupying a well demarcated territory, is free from external control or domination (except in case of mutual agreement or international law) and is politically independent, commanding the services of a well organized government through which the will of the people, or, at least the will of the majority of the people is expressed in terms of common purposes and ends, then, and then only can it be said to constitute a state. In fact, the modern usage of the term 'nation' is the same as the term 'state' since these terms have now come to indicate a politically organized community transcending racial, religious and cultural barriers and co-operating with each other in the collective determination to maintain the state for the common good, or at least, for the good of the majority.

A question may arise whether a people, occupying a well demarcated area for a considerable period in history, habitually obeying the laws promulgated either by a government within or without, participating in many governmental activities regardless of the fact whether a majority of that people are either indifferent to or only partially organized for political action, and recognizing the presence of a state for all practical purposes, constitute a state or not. The answer is simple. It may be found by asking another question : do these people possess sovereign power in terms of an efficient government representing the will of the people, or at least, the will of the majority, and are they free from external control or domination except in case, of course, of mutual agreement, just as Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and Turkey are? If these questions cannot be answered in the affirmative, then, these people *do not*

possess a state. One may say that they merely possess state-institutions.¹ A state without sovereign power is no state at all. As state and sovereignty are inseparable, the absence of the latter invalidates the former. A state without sovereignty is like a ship without a rudder.

The terms 'nation', 'nationality', 'nationalism' and 'state' have been defined. And having defined these basic terms and having attempted to understand their nature, scope and implication, we must now proceed to analyse fully the factors, forces and circumstances that foster their growth and momentum in India. Having ascertained that race, and consequently, religion and language are at times the foundations of nationality though not for the formation of a nation-state or the growth of national sentiment, let us now proceed to discuss fully each of these factors in the life of India, especially as they help or hinder the realization of a nation-state. However, the complicated and complex character of these phenomena must not be lost sight of or forgotten. Irrationality is all too common among human beings, and the sentiment regarding one's nation, nationality or nationalism, which is 'capable of unlimited bias and prejudice, justifying man's noble and ignoble passions'² must not deter us from an objective study of the problem. Fortunately for us, scholars widely respected for their scholarship, have left abundant material without which our task would be most difficult.³

¹ MacIver, *op. cit.*, 8.

² Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study of its Origin and Background*, 5 ff. Read Kipling's poem 'The Stranger'; Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East*, 391.

³ Ruthinaswamy, *The Making of the State*, 482; Laski, *op. cit.*, 227; MacIver, *op. cit.*, 8; Bluntschli, *The Theory of the State*, 58 ff., Krabbe, H., *The Modern Idea of the State*, LXXV ff., and 208 ff.

CHAPTER II

RACE AND NATIONHOOD



1. Identity of Race and Nationhood

Mention has already been made that there are certain vital factors which are absolutely necessary for the growth and development of nationality. These factors play an effective part in the formation of a nation-state. Most scholars¹ agree that, though no single factor or a combination of factors is absolutely indispensable, nationhood does demand a certain basis for its growth and development. Race and language, community of religion and culture, common tradition and history, common literature and aspirations, community of political interests and ideals, common homeland and union, common purpose and suffering, common enemy and hatred, and common victory and defeat are among the most important factors ;

¹ Garner, *Political Science and Government*, 109 ff.

Muir, *Nationalism and Internationalism*, 39-54.

Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, 4-28.

Gilchrist, *Principles of Political Science*, 31-48.

Gooch, *Nationalism*, 5-8.

Pillsbury, *Psychology of Nationalism and Internationalism*, 7-20.

Rose, *Nationality in Modern History*, 140-143.

Robinson, 'What is National Spirit', *Century Magazine*, Nov. 1916,

57-64.

Joseph, *Nationality: Its Nature and Problems*, 20-27.

Zimmern, 'Nationalism and Internationalism,' *Foreign Affairs*, June,

1923, I, 115-126; *Nationality and Government*, 78.

Bluntschli, *The Theory of the State*, 80-92.

Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, 218-228.

although education, press, geographical advantages, psychological unity, common economic interests and the 'will' to be a nation have come to be equally important in the promotion and advancement of nationhood.

Identity of race is emphasized as one of the vital factors in the evolution of a nation, and it is a universally accepted fact that nationhood is facilitated among a people of the same racial origin, or, at least by a belief in a common racial origin as in the case of the Turks, Bulgars, Irish, Chinese, Arabs, Jews, Germans and Italians.¹ The feeling of race is so strong in some of these peoples that any scientific discovery or fact, which may be contrary to their accepted theories of their own racial origin and which may indicate their origin to more than one source, is either repudiated or resented. Not that the identity of race is indispensable to the formation of nationhood; not that those who did not believe in a common racial origin have not been organised into a nation-state; and not that all those who believed in a common racial origin have achieved a nation-state; but the feeling that they come from the same race does add force to the nationalising process.

On the other hand, it may be scientifically argued that identity of race is not an altogether indispensable factor.² From the day she declared herself independent of Great Britain to this day, the history of the United States of America, and the fervid nationalism she has manifested in her life and thought, have made it clear that an identity of race is of 'dubious importance.'³ Under the banner of the United States of America, Whites and Blacks, men representing almost every nationality including the Chinese, Japanese, Italian, German, Swede, Greek, and Irish have fought shoulder to shoulder against her common enemies, irrespective of their former loyalties and affections. Americanism

¹ Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, 120

² Laski, 219.

Muir, 41 ff.

³ Laski, 219

Gilchrist, 34.

transcends all racial and linguistic barriers, and America's 'manifest destiny' cuts across racial and national boundaries. Britain, under the leadership of Disraeli, the Jewish Prime Minister, was as nationalistic and imperialistic as under any other Anglo-Saxon Premier. The national fervour of Soviet Russia as expressed in her internal or external activities, in peace or war, or in her national or international life, does not spring from racial sources. On the contrary, the presence of so many nationalities in the Soviet Union has largely contributed to her strength, as was seen in the recent war, rather than to her weakness. The Soviet Union and the U.S.A. are living demonstrations that the identity of race for the formation and maintenance of a strong nation-state and consequently, for the might of the nation, is a negligible entity. The Armenians and the Arabs in Palestine have made common cause with each other against the Jews. It is said that Brazil is the only large country in the world where ideal race-relations are maintained, and therefore, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that the nationalism of Brazil is not based on race or racial oneness.

2. The Theory of Race Purity

In the last thirty years, no question in sociology or anthropology has arrested so much attention and consideration as the one on the 'purity of race'. The assertion regarding the existence of a pure race has brought counter assertions to the contrary. Though the theory of race purity or the existence of a pure race is debatable and highly controversial, and though much pride, bias and prejudice are apt to enter into any discussion of this subject, it cannot be denied that scientifically trained minds have given time and attention to the investigation of this intricate problem, and fortunately, the results of their investigation are at our disposal. Professors Zangwill and Stephens emphatically deny the existence of a pure race in any highly organized society. To

them, the presence of a pure race is a fiction.¹ The well known British scholar and historian Gooch rightly declares that, 'no race has ever been gathered into a single nation-state.'² Bernard Joseph's contention is that the term 'race' cannot have a strict scientific meaning: it is merely subjective and emotional. He has reached this conclusion after having observed the manifestations of racial feeling and conduct and having studied the subject of race from more than one angle.³ 'Every nationality can be proved to consist of several races if one goes back far enough into the origins of the groups composing it.'⁴ Montagu ridicules the theory of a pure race and declares that it constitutes 'one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of the errors of our times and the most tragic.'⁵

There are scholars⁶ who consider the hypothesis of the existence of a pure race as mythical and highly dangerous. Eminent scientists 'are in complete agreement that every modern nationality consists of racial mixtures.'⁷ If ever such a pure race existed then these scholars are agreed that it would be practically impossible to find it in the history of civilized groups, and therefore search must be made among the uncivilized tribesmen.⁸ The word 'pure' when applied to a race defies analysis, and the word 'race' when applied to a people forming a nation-state or even a nationality, creates confusion and misunderstanding. Even educated people harbour many misconceptions regarding race and race purity, and it is not surprising that the rank and file, being easily subject to ignorance and irrationality, are capable of inconceivable notions on race purity and race qualities.

¹ Zangwill, *The Principle of Nationalities*, 38-40.

Stephens, 'Nationality and History,' *The American Historical Review*, XXI, Jan., 1916, 228 ff.

² Gooch, 6.

³ Joseph, 45

⁴ *Ibid*

⁵ Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*, 3.

⁶ Hayes, 8

⁷ Hayes, *Ibid*.

Muir, 39 ff.

⁸ *Ibid*.

However, one cannot question the fact that a fancied or imaginary belief in racial identity and blood relationship binds nationalities. Such a belief, whether real or false, has been conducive to the development of national sentiment.¹ The psychological momentum that this consciousness brings to bear on the solidarity of a community, with its peculiar ideas and ideologies, glories and victories of this group in the past, and hopes and aspirations for the future, is a tremendous asset to the national growth and maturity. Yet without doubt the same belief may create a sense of racial superiority bound eventually to result in disaster.²

Nations and peoples may become so drunk with the feeling of superiority that it becomes a psychosis or neurosis, bringing in its train mental and moral confusion to the nation and material damage to others.³ The feeling of race superiority is so pernicious that it may lead to unforeseen social consequences resulting in death and degradation to many. Race superiority is so mixed up with economic and political affairs of the nations that it may eventually lead to war.⁴ It cannot be denied that the feeling of racial superiority was a potent cause of the last war. 'Racism became a national battle cry in this era of nationalism. In "fatherlands" in need of a common rallying cry it provided a pedigree and a bond any man could understand and in which he could take pride. Racism therefore became a Babel of voices. The French, the Germans, the Slavs, the Anglo-Saxons—each produced their literary and their political spokesmen proving that to this "race" alone from the beginning of European history the triumphs of civilization had been due. Each laid violent hands on the facts of race and distorted them to contrary racist conclusions. Racism in its natural phase lost any pretence of scientific objectivity.'⁵

¹ *Ibid.*² Muir, 40.³ Benedict, *Race and Racism*, 128.⁴ Pillsbury, 21-62.⁵ Muir, *Ibid.*

3. Race and Language, Culture and Colour

Having observed that the identity of race is an altogether irrelevant factor in the formation of a nation-state although a belief in such an identity might help to sponsor national consciousness; having plainly seen that every nation and even nationality are made up of many racial groups that defy racial analysis; having fully understood the bankruptcy of theories that imply race purity and race superiority; having discovered that in the history of modern Europe no race has ever been able exclusively to form a nation-state; and having seen that racial groups and racial mixture are not hostile to the growth of national spirit,¹ we must now proceed to investigate whether language, culture or colour has any relation to race at all.

Even Gobineau, the apostle of racial superiority, admits that hybrids were created among the European peoples by racial fusion. If the European population is racially fused,² then the different languages of Europe do not indicate racial origin in the sense that the Germans, Slavs, Italians, Swedes, Bulgarians, French and Belgians belong to altogether separate races. All those who speak Arabic are not Arabs and many peoples belonging to many lands speak the English language, but they do not all belong to the common English stock. The Negroes in America speak English, Spanish, Portuguese and French. In every language-group can be located all kinds of racial types, and they do not all look alike. The United States of America which is popularly known as the 'museum of races' and the world's 'melting pot' has taken to English as its official language though it contains people of practically every language and racial group in the world. The word 'Aryan' is not the name of a 'pure' or preferred race³, but it is a name given to a group of languages. Max Muller is

¹ Muir, 39

² Gobineau, *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races*, 209

³ Sometimes, it may have a qualitative meaning 'noble' and as such can be applied to any one.

emphatic on this point. 'I have declared again and again, that when I say Aryas (Aryans) I mean neither blood nor bones nor hair nor skull; I mean simply those who speak an Aryan language. When I speak of them I commit myself to no anatomical characteristics. To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic (narrow-headed) dictionary or a brachycephalic (broad-headed) grammar.'¹

Culture cannot be considered the basis of a pure race. European culture is older than any modern European nation, and is not the work of one race or people. There are many people the world over who are not European by birth or citizenship but who have taken to European ways which form part of the European culture. If Buddhism is said to represent at least an aspect of Indian culture, then the millions of Chinese and Japanese who are Buddhists must be of the Indian race, which they are not. The United States of America and the U.S.S.R. have peculiar cultures of their own even though they comprehend many peoples and races. 'For culture is the sociological term for learned behaviour; behaviour which in man is not given at birth, which is not determined by his germ cells as is the behaviour of wasps or the social ants, but must be learned anew by grown people of each new generation.'²

The culture of any nation is the sum total of the contribution of many peoples representing many generations and peoples over a long, long period of time. Any nationality which has been in contact with diverse kinds of people for ages and acquired a complicated culture, could not have done it by racially and socially keeping aloof. The culture of different peoples and nationalities is so complicated that it is more than evident that that culture supposedly peculiar to a people must have been the contribution of many peoples. Take any nationality

¹ Max Muller, *Biography of Words and the Home of the Aryans*, 120

² Benedict, 9-10.

in the world and examine its culture! Many aspects of that culture can be found in more than one society.

The examination of the culture and civilization of any land will lead to the conclusion that mankind has been interdependent and inter-mingling with practically no race-prejudice for ages. Inter-breeding among the races must have gone on for ages before history was recorded. Good men and women representing a high degree of culture are common to every nationality and land in the world. Criminals and morons representing an undeveloped culture are found in every society. It must be added that the most intelligent and noble people have lived side by side with the most stupid and mean ones of the same nationality and country. In any given society, no matter how highly developed the culture may be, culture in terms of personality development has varied according to people in the same society. All cultured people do not belong to one and the same nationality or racial group.

Just as culture cannot be the basis of race or nationality, the colour of the skin also is an immaterial factor. It would be nothing short of fiction to say that colour is a reliable pointer to race or that it could be a basis for the formation of a nation-state. Europe would be one vast nation-state if the latter depended on the pigmentation of the skin. The Chinese and the Japanese, who are indistinguishable for all practical purposes and are very much alike in colour and appearance have not been brought together under one and the same nation-state. In reality they claim to be separate nationalities, and have been engaged in mutual slaughter now for years. There are many hundreds of people who are akin to the Chinese and the Japanese in colour and appearance, but who would greatly resent any political union with any one of these people. Again, among the so-called brown races can be found men and women, comparable in colour and in appearance, to many in Europe and America. Men of all colour and complexion live under the banner of the world's two greatest powers—the U.S.A. and the

U.S.S.R., enjoying practically equal privileges and rights.

Colour variation, on the other hand, is not altogether uncommon among the European countries. Variation in colour and form of the eye and hair can be noticed in the same national group as their similarity is found in almost every other nation.¹ The same can be said of the shape of the nose and the Cephalic Index. 'The Cephalic Index does not serve to distinguish the White race from the Mongoloid nor from the Negro, nor has it any constant value for any primary race.'² Many ignorant persons falsely entertain the notion that blood types are strictly confined to racial if not national groups. But scientific investigation has revealed that blood types have no racial, national or geographical barriers.³ No race in terms of the Cephalic Index has ever founded a nation-state, and a nation-state has invariably cut across colour variations and blood types. 'The lack of any correlation between race and sovereign states is obvious. The individuals who plan the policies of Germany or France or who shout together in the streets over a national victory in war are united not by the similarities of their cephalic indices or by any common family tree, but by the fact that they read the same newspapers and will be called upon to die for the same flag.'⁴

4. Race and Migrations of Peoples

Nationhood on the basis of purity or identity of race is further complicated by the fact that long before the time of recorded history, migrations and movements of peoples characterised the life of mankind throughout the world. Though the history of migrations is older than recorded history, the migrations of people according to written history form a significant chapter in the history of man. Even today, migrations take place, and people cross the seas and cross the conti-

¹ *Ibid.*, 22 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 27.

³ Speer, *Of One Blood, A Short Study of the Race Problem*, 20 ff.

⁴ Benedict, 35.

nents to make new homes. The ancestors of the present population of the world were active immigrants. The fore-fathers of the people now constituting the nation-states of almost every country in the world were noted for their wanderings and their final settlements in far away places, only to move and keep on moving.

Asia is considered the original home of man. The *Homo Sapiens* (primitive man) covered the whole earth, including Australia and America. Before man became a historical animal and continued to inhabit a given territory, there were no laws of marriage. It was a customary thing for one tribe or a people to capture the women of another tribe or people, and thus demonstrate their courage and valour. In ancient times, women sometimes were the cause of wars, and the booty in terms of women was of no mean value to primitive society. Thus for thousands of years, unconscious and unrestricted crossing must have gone on before society organized the institution of marriage. And marriage is no guarantee against inter-racial and inter-national weddings.

The United States of America is one example of sex life cutting across all racial and national barriers. Take the history of Britain, an insular island with no attractive climate. The Celts, the Scots, the Irish, the Romans, the Angles, the Saxons, the Jutes, the Danes, the Norman, the Dutch, the Jews and many other national groups have freely intermarried with each other during the course of their settlement in Britain and have become one people! Since Britain started on her colonial and commercial life many others have come and made Britain their home, and if the average Englishman goes back far enough into his ancestry, he will find that his fore-fathers were drawn from many sources.¹ In this respect, the American scene would be much more picturesque, for the whole of North and South America are largely, if not wholly, inhabited by immigrants. The

¹ Parsons, 'The Anthropological History of the Modern Englishman,' *Early Man*, 65 ff.

history of the first five centuries of the Christian era is a story of migrations and racial mixtures of the peoples inhabiting the then known world.¹

The Roman Empire, comprehending many peoples and races extending as far as Britain and the Rhine in one direction, Spain in the West, the whole of North Africa in the South and to the borders of Mesopotamia in the East, was the most cosmopolitan empire of its day. In this empire, races and peoples freely mixed and mingled with one another irrespective of racial or linguistic considerations.² One of the devastating causes for the fall of this empire must be attributed to the sweep of migrations in the form of invasions and plunder. Rome generously paved the way for the fusion of many races and peoples into one vast citizenship that Rome alone was capable of conferring. All roads led to Rome. Roman citizenship was eventually open to all irrespective of race, nationality or colour. The Roman sword slaughtered thousands and tens of thousands for the sake of conquest and gain; the Roman capitalists exploited non-Romans; and the highest offices were usually reserved for the Romans; but Rome was never guilty of racial arrogance, social snobbishness or national exclusiveness. Indeed, she was not race conscious. 'Rome itself was a thoroughly cosmopolitan city, where the concentration of wealth and political power attracted the ambitious, the adventurous, and the curious from all lands. Whole quarters were occupied by various nationalities, the most prominent among whom were the Greeks, the Syrians, and the Jews, speaking their own language and plying their native trades. With the free-born foreign population mingled the thousands of slaves and freedmen of every race and tongue.'³

'Men imitate men, fight and conquer them, interbreed, one people with another.'⁴ This process has

¹ Garner, 116.

² Robinson, *op. cit.*, 60 ff.

³ Boak, *A History of Rome to 565 A.D.*, 315.

⁴ Wells, *The Outline of History*, 106.

gone on for tens of thousands of years. Alexander the Great, apart from being one of the greatest soldiers of all times, was essentially a world citizen. There was no parochialism in him. He was far above racial and national considerations. He patronized inter-marriages between the Europeans and the Asiatics in thousands, and he himself married at least three non-European women.¹ The hundreds of Greeks and other Europeans who remained in India and in other parts of Asia freely intermarried with the people in whose midst they lived.² We are told on good authority that one of the great emperors of India employed only Greek women as his body guards.³ In short, the migrations of humans for thousands of years did cause such incalculable fusion among the peoples of the world that no nation or nationality can truthfully assert that they are of a pure and unadulterated race of people, nor may any thinking person assume or argue that the purity of race and racial identity are absolutely essential for the formation of a nation-state.

5. Attitude of Religion to Race

One of the most unique and significant characteristics of organized religion, from its earliest inception to this day, is the conquest of man's allegiance and loyalty irrespective of caste, colour, race or nationality. It must be said, to the credit of every religion that we have any record of, that it never denied membership in its fold to any one on account of race or colour. Organised religion recognised that the soul of every individual was too important to be trifled with on account of superficial differences.

The mystery religions and Christianity, the Stoics and the Cynics preached the brotherhood of man to a people already indistinguishable racially, and enabled thousands to cut across tribal or social barriers. Jain-

¹ Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism*, 54 ff.

² Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 58 ff.

³ Rawlinson, *Indian Historical Studies*, 24 ff.

ism preached and propagated the love and sacredness of life. Gautama Buddha preached fellow-feeling through his entire life time. To the Chinese, all under heaven were of one family, and Confucius regarded all within the four seas as brothers. The Jews looked upon God as the Creator of man, and awaited His rule on earth. The oneness of mankind is a supreme doctrine of Hinduism. Sikhism declares that there is no Hindu or Mussalman, but man to man and man to God. Christianity, from its very inception, attracted men and women of all races, religions, nationalities and lands. The idea of the kingdom of God on earth is a brotherhood embracing men of all climes.

Even before the birth of Christianity, according to Angus, a great authority on the mystery religions of the Mediterranean world, practically every cult and every faith prevalent in the Roman Empire attracted men and women of all races to their fold. The Stoics and Cynics rising far above the meaningless shibboleths of their day, made great contributions to the development of human personality and the progress of society as a whole by stressing the essentials that contribute towards the good life. Men and women from the East and West flocked to their standard irrespective of race and colour. The Cynics, Stoics and the followers of the mystery religions freely united with each other in one common communion.¹

All this intermingling and fusion of races and peoples must have had devastating results on the purity of race and even on the identity of race. Men and women were far above the considerations of colour or race. They were merely men and women. Such a state of affairs, as late as the first century A.D., must only be compared with the conditions obtaining several thousand years before the birth of Christ. Charles Darwin, in the most influential and far-reaching scientific pronouncement of the nineteenth century, declared, 'we see the full meaning of the wonderful fact, which has struck every travel-

¹ Dorsey, *Man's Own Show: Civilization*, 527 ff.

ler, namely that on the same continent, under the most diverse conditions, under heat and cold, on mountain and lowland, on deserts and marshes, most of the inhabitants within each great class are plainly related; for they are the descendants of the same progenitors and early colonists."¹

Before we conclude this section, mention must be made of the great and lasting contribution that Islam has made to the solidarity of man over against his tribal or clannish exclusiveness. Islam has perhaps the best record for the achievement of brotherhood among men and women of all races, nationalities, colour and castes. Islam never made a ceremony of race, or nationality, and in its history, it has consistently cut across racial and national barriers. It must be stated to the credit of Islam that it not only did not make a fetish of race or colour, but also cordially united all kinds and all varieties of folks under its banner. When one becomes a Mussalman, whether he be an Arab, Negro, Turk, Moor, Hindu, Chinese, Javanese, or Persian, he is first and last a Mussalman, although in the case of the Turks, the Soviet and the Chinese Muslims who have now come under nationalist influence of their respective states, this feeling may not exist to the same degree. The harems of Muslim kings and emperors as well as of the Muslim nobles have been dynamic centres for interbreeding. "Moslems have never attached importance to ancestry, and there was no adverse discrimination against the offspring of Arabs and the native women of their harems. On the contrary, inter-mixture produced great political leaders and men of wealth, and facilitated the spread of higher culture."² The Slave dynasty in India may be mentioned as an outstanding example. The spread of Islam in Asia, Africa and Europe inevitably produced racial fusion to an incalculable degree. Colour prejudice and race discrimination are utterly alien to the spirit of Islam. While these ir-

¹ Darwin, *Origin of Species*, 492.

² Benedict, 48.

rational prejudices may be equally foreign to the genius of other world religions none has equalled Islam in the practice of racial equality.

6. Race Purity and the Sweep of Armies

The Aryans, Goths, Huns, Slavs, Mongols, Turks, Arabs, Jews, and their earlier ancestors have been war-like and nomadic peoples for many centuries ; and written history does not throw much light on the racial fusion caused during their restless marches over many lands inhabited by many peoples. If one studies the ethnological history of Belgium, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, or any other European country, one finds an indistinguishable racial blend. The march of armies up and down the hills and plains of Asia, Africa and Europe, and the occupation of lands and territories not their own, must have facilitated racial fusion particularly when people were not race conscious. The conquest of one people by another and the long political and economic domination that usually follows leave their racial strains in a variety of ways.

Alexander's exploits in Europe, Asia and Africa ; the Roman conquest of a large part of Europe, Asia and Africa ; the penetration of the Vandals in all directions, particularly towards the Mediterranean ; the Moorish occupation of Spain and other parts of Europe ; the onslaught of the Huns in various sections of Europe and Asia ; the Turkish sweep through Asia, Europe and Africa ; the Mongolian penetration into Russia, India and China ; the expansion of the Arabs across many lands ; the dominion of Europe over Africa and the concomitant result of White mastery over the Black and Brown people ; the Crusades ; the settlement of Americans in Hawaii ; the British conquest of India ; the forced occupation of many lands in the East and West by European settlers ; and the colonisation of America by European and African peoples have wrought a revolution in racial make-up and have made the identity of race a fit-

tion and the purity of race a myth. It was Webb Miller who made the observation that many German boys and girls of the Rhine valley of today were of American parentage—sons and daughters of the American soldiers who occupied the Rhine region immediately after the first great World War.¹ And no wonder Daniel Defoe told a long tale when he sarcastically remarked: thus from a mixture of all kinds, began the heterogeneous thing, an Englishman.²

Not only the soldiers and sailors but also the merchant-traders, wherever they went, and they travelled far and wide for the purposes of gain and profit, generously added to racial admixture, and penetrated through regions unknown to the soldier and sailor. The slave trade that the European merchants and traders carried on for generations, and slave markets of the world indicate the part that the profit-seeking traders played in facilitating the fusion of races. Trade and commerce always cut across the barriers of race, colour and creed. The racial strain that the Dutch merchants have left on the Ceylonese population is quite considerable indeed. Thousands of them have Dutch names, and are proud of their Dutch ancestry. The great trade routes of the world were the highways where the races of mankind met and mingled for mutual advantage and gain, and the freedom with which they mixed with each other was bound to result in racial interaction. The Moplas and the Goanese on the West Coast of India who are the descendants of the Arab and Portuguese merchants respectively serve as supreme illustrations of what dealers in goods and commodities could do unconsciously to bring about racial fusion. The sailor who has been a conscious partner with the trader as far as trade and commerce were concerned has been merely an unconscious co-operator in promoting the fusion of already fused peoples.

Every civilized group of which we have record

¹ Miller, *I Found No Peace*

² Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman*.

has been a hybrid group, a fact which disposes effectively of the theory that hybrid peoples are inferior to pure bred ones.¹ In the absence of racial purity or racial identity in any modern society, these could never be indispensable factors in the formation of nation-states. In addition to the innumerable factors that have thoroughly and indistinguishably destroyed racial purity, mention must be made of a few more factors which have played no mean part in the fusion of races and peoples who were already in the melting pot. Travel, international intercourse, the spread of scientific knowledge, economic and political interests, the growth of large cities, proletarian movements, education, industrial developments, religious missions, colonial life, immigration, wars, art-fraternities, the movies and theatres, the institution of prostitution, hotels and co-education, the sentiment of love and the inspiration that idealism alone could give, nationalism and the prestige of having a wife from the ruling class-society, and many more factors and forces have gone a long way in thoroughly destroying all racial exclusiveness.

The dwindling racial barriers are broken to bits every day. Race as a vital factor in the development of national consciousness is more and more being eliminated. It is for this reason that Prof. Muir is of opinion that, 'racialism rests upon an utterly unscientific basis : it assumes purity of race where it demonstrably does not exist. Racialism, with its assertion of the existence of fundamental antipathies between races, and of the inherent superiority of one race to another, is the very antithesis of nationalism ; for the national principle begins by recognizing that nations may be, and commonly are, formed from a blend of many races.'² Therefore, we may say that though a fancied or imaginary belief in racial identity might be of help in the formation of national groups, racial basis of nationhood is an outworn dogma. It cannot stand the test of scientific analysis.

¹ Linton, *The Study of Man*, 34.

² Muir, *op. cit.*, 41-42.

7. Race not a Decisive Factor in Nationhood

The investigation that we have just made as to the place of race in the formation of a nation-state has shown that neither the identity of race nor the purity of race is a serious factor. The science of ethnology has further revealed the difficulty of drawing lines of demarcation between races. 'If we are to select the most intelligent, imaginative, energetic and emotionally stable third of mankind, all races would be represented.'¹ Eminent scientists of the world have no hesitation in saying openly that 'science and the scientific spirit can do something by pointing out the biological realities of the ethnic situation . . . Racialism is a myth, and a dangerous myth at that. It is a cloak for selfish economic aims which in their uncloaked nakedness would look ugly enough. And it is not scientifically grounded. The essence of science is the appeal to fact.'² While scholars themselves have found it very difficult to define 'race', it is absurd and practically impossible to speak of nations and nationalities as belonging to this race or that. If one speaks of a nation-state as belonging to this or that race exclusively, then, it can be easily pointed out that in every other nation-state, people who resemble them in appearance would not be lacking. In most cases, it would be blind folly to speak of the existing population of any region as belonging to a definite 'race'.³

Even in the presence of an imaginary or a fancied affinity of race, the formation of nationhood may not be possible, and the 'will' to be a nation-state may be wanting. Such a group may not possess common economic and political interests, and a spirit of discord in the life and thought of the people may disrupt the unity of the group as a whole. If racial solidarity alone united the peoples of the world, the Arabs, the Teutonic races, the Turks, the Negroes, the Mongolians, and others

¹ Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, 75.

² Huxley and Haddon, *We Europeans*, 287.

³ *Ibid.*, 268

would have exclusively formed separate nation-states respectively comprehending their peculiar race. The modern state system is not aware of any such arrangement.

On the contrary, some of the deadliest wars in history have been fought between people with so-called identity of race. Racial oneness and affinity have not prevented many of these people from engaging themselves in self-destruction. Sir Valentine Chirol¹ pointed out that in the opinion of many Asiatic peoples, the first World War was a fratricide. Nations and peoples who supposedly belonged to the same race were engaged in mutual slaughter for more than four long years. Or, take the history of any one people who are supposed to belong to the same race or who enjoy or possess the identity of race! The history of England provides the spectacle of Englishmen killing Englishmen with a fury that is savagery. Scots have fought Scots. France was one vast chaos in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because of internal dissension and intrigue, and wholesale massacres were not uncommon among the French people. During the French Revolution, in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity, Frenchmen slaughtered their kind with utmost pleasure and fury.

In spite of the presence of the so-called racial affinity, Europe has been an armed camp for the last two thousand years, and the Europeans, whether they were French, German, Austrian, Belgian, Italian, Bulgar, Greek, Danish or Dutch, burnt, fought and buried each other with utmost ferocity for centuries. The Slavs have fought Slavs; the Latin groups have been at war with each other in almost all the centuries of the Christian era, and there are few decades when they did not fight amongst themselves. The history of Germany till 1871 and even after, has been one of blood feuds. The Chinese and the Japanese have been at war with each other for the last half century, and in spite of racial resemb-

¹ Chirol, *India*, 184.

lance, they have cherished nothing but contempt and bitter hatred for each other. The factors that are responsible for this bitterness are entirely different. The disruption and disunity in Chinese society itself have been notorious. Racial identity could not weld them together against their foreign enemies.

In all these cases, the affinity of race has not stood in the way of mutual slaughter, nor has it paved the way for friendship let alone the formation of a nation-state exclusively for those who possess this affinity. Many such instances could be found in the history of the Turks, the Afghans and the people of India. Anglo-Saxon America fought a deadly civil war in which a million people perished and millions of dollars worth of property were destroyed; and it seemed for a while that fraternal and spiritual affinities were repudiated in favour of diametrically opposed political and economic interests. And Britain, under the able leadership of Palmerston, was making preparation to help the South against the North where the Pilgrim Fathers and other English refugees had settled in the seventeenth century.

Under these circumstances, the people of India who were engaged for centuries in warfare among themselves for a variety of reasons and causes, must not be misunderstood to have fought each other owing to racial differences, racial antagonism or the lack of racial affinity or concord among themselves. Affinity of race does not necessarily weld people together into a political union, nor has it prevented mutual destruction. The lack of affinity does not necessarily stand in the way of nationhood or friendly relationship. All the Anglo-Saxon people of the world do not live together under one rule. But Hawaii is the supreme illustration of how different racial and national groups can live together in harmony and fellowship. In the face of these facts, arguments advanced by any people or the formation of a nation-state by those people on the ground that they

lack racial affinity or identity, are absurd, untenable and superficial.

Children we are all
Of one great Father, in whatever clime
Nature or chance hath cast the seeds of life—
All tongues, all colours: neither after death
Shall we be sorted into languages
And tints, white, black, and tawny, Greek and Goth,
Northmen, and offspring of hot Africa;
The All-father, He in whom we live and move,
He, the indifferent Judge of all, regards
Nations, and hues, and dialects alike.

Southey.

CHAPTER III

RACIAL BASIS OF NATIONHOOD IN INDIA



A. Factors in Racial Unity and Diversity

'Whatever the unity, therefore, of separate sections of the population, there is not the unity of the population as a whole. The Mohammedan, differing radically in his religious views and tracing with pride his ancestry back to the great Arab and Moghul conquerors, is not likely ever to claim kinship with the pacific Hindu. The Marathas or Rajputs will not own a common parentage with the South Indian Dravidians.'¹ This contention of Professor Gilchrist that the lack of identity of religion and ancestry is a great hindrance to Indian nationhood is a fallacious and untenable assumption in the light of scientific data and the facts of history. Gilchrist confuses the manifestation of racial mania which confronts Europe, America and Africa with the facts obtaining in India. Such a racialism has been a negligible quantity in the history of India. Hindus have slaughtered and looted Hindus; Muslims have butchered and blackmailed Muslims; and the Hindus and Muslims have been at each other's throats times out of number, just as much as any other people; but to attribute racial motives to their actions is to be blind to the more im-

¹ Gilchrist, *Indian Nationality*, 61.

portant forces at work in any well organized society. Even in Europe, America, and South Africa, the manifestations of racial mania and its ugly consequences have been a cover for selfish political, economic, and national interests.

1. *Race, Caste and the Cephalic Index*.—Many intelligent and well-meaning people suppose that the caste-system is based on race. Had the conquering Aryans (even though the term 'Aryan' is etymologically used for a group of languages as already pointed out) imposed this pernicious social system on the conquered Dravidians, there would have been great resentment against it from the very beginning. The system would have broken down in a few years or decades. On the other hand, apart from a few exceptions we distinctly note a cordial relationship and amity among the four main castes constituting this socio-economic organization, and there is much room for believing that it was owing to a deep sense of co-operation among these groups that the system has endured to this day. Therefore, the view held by Mahatma Gandhi and a great many others that the caste-system was organized as a division of labour is more or less correct.

The social stigma attached to caste is of a later growth, and purely incidental. The type of work one does carries with it a certain social status and stigma, as in the case of a barber, sweeper, trader or ruler. We bow before an officer or ruler in spite of his ancestry, moral stature, or intellectual calibre. A sweeper may surpass an officer in all these respects, and yet be considered an inferior human being and treated as such. Tradition and convention as well as vocation and economic status play no mean part in the social status that a person is able to command. Birth also confers certain privileges. Not very long ago, the soldier-class as a whole was considered to be the lowest in the social strata of China while there are people who take pride in their fighting qualities. In all these instances, it is not accord-

ing to race that society respects or disregards an individual. In the U.S.A., many Chinese have taken to laundry work while the Armenians and the Greeks have largely taken to other types of 'menial' work; the Irish are largely employed in the police force. Some stigma is attached to certain vocations irrespective of the personal qualities of the individual. It is not race that is primarily responsible for the social status of many of these groups, but the vocation with which one may be connected. In most cases, the economic and political status of a person has largely determined his social status. Vincent Smith who is a great authority on Indian history—certainly greater than Gilchrist as an anthropologist and ethnologist—points out that 'the mixture of traces on Indian soil was going on, for countless ages before any history was recorded, and it is now hopeless to unravel the different lines of descent.'¹

If the caste system is based on race, then physical-racial types must be confined to castes and castes only, and they are not. The present population of India is so completely mixed that the physical types are not peculiar to any section, caste or class. One can find similar types in every section of the country.² 'The low caste Chamar and even the sweeper often is handsome, and better looking than many Brahmins.'³ And Brahmins are supposed to be of pure Aryan descent! Measurement of the skull by which the physical anthropologist obtains his cephalic index to racial types is not an accurate pointer in this matter. Even in a country like England, 'it often happens that in one family, one member will be long headed (dolicho-cephalic) and another short-headed (brachy-cephalic)' and under these circumstances, it would be absurd to classify the two brothers as members belonging to two different races.⁴ According to Smith, the observations and conclusions of many

¹ Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 6, Durant, *The Story of Civilization: Our Oriental Heritage*, 2-3. According to Monier Williams, 'Aryan' originally meant 'peasant,' *Ibid.*, 307 foot-note.

² Smith *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

anthropologists who have emphasised the racial differentiations in India rather than her racial unity, are 'absurd'.¹ In the light of these observations, the sweeping statements of interested politicians on the racial situation in India are highly exaggerated or one-sided. India is a vast country, and a tourist view of the problem is apt to be hasty and skin-deep. An examination of other factors is both relevant and helpful to our inquiry.

2. *Race and Language*.—If the caste system and the cephalic index are not capable of guiding us in the racial evaluation of the people of India, language cannot be relied upon as a criterion for evaluating races. We have already seen that there are millions of people who are neither English, nor German, nor French and who yet speak these languages. These languages themselves have changed considerably with the change of time, and those who speak them have undergone a most revolutionary social and racial change in the last two thousand years. The identity of language now proves the operation of social forces which utterly ignore racial origin and exclusiveness. In the modern world, a common language proves political, social, religious and economic intercourse rather than racial origin. French was the language of diplomacy and international relations for a long time, and English is taking its place now. All those who speak French are not Frenchmen. Christianity was a means of spreading Latin. Non-German students do learn German to study some aspect of applied science.

Risley, a great authority on the ethnology of India, is of the opinion that there is a great danger of drawing fallacious and untenable conclusions if ethnology is allied with philology: his contention is that language cannot be a reliable guide in directing the evaluation of race.² Five hundred years ago, Hindi and Urdu in their present form did not exist; Hindustani was unknown; none had ever heard of Punjabi or Gurumukhi. It is too

¹ *Ibid.*

² Risley, *The People of India*, 7 ff.

obvious to mention that millions of Indians who speak English are not Englishmen. In all these instances, language does not signify race.

Thousands of Indians who speak and understand one and the same language are living in other language areas of India, understanding and speaking languages other than their own. If the different regions of India were populated by different races speaking different languages, then the cephalic index must be different in all these cases if language is an index to race. In case the languages of these regions are related to each other in some respects, then, does it indicate racial fusion? How can we account for the fact that in these different regions, there are many people who can understand more than one language? Do these people belong to more than one race? If language is identical with race, then, what is to be the status of thousands of children who acquire the language of the area where they are born rather than the language that their parents speak? Again, if language is identical with race, then, there must be more than two hundred races in India, for the number of languages listed at the last census of India is more than two hundred if you include the dialects. Eminent ethnologists who are familiar with the existence of only half a dozen racial types would be driven to a state of despair if they had to account for a hundred racial types. Ethnology is familiar with only a few races while the number of languages and dialects in India exceed several hundred.

On the other hand, if the contention is correct that language represents racial origin, then the majority of the people of India who speak and understand Hindustani, which is a recent development, may be said to belong to one and the same race! And the identity of race, to a large degree, would be an accomplished fact in India!! But is not racial affinity possible even when people speak different languages as is the case with the Italian, French and Spanish who belong to the Latin

group? It is, therefore, clear that language is not a dependable clue to race, and race is not based on language. Languages represent forces far beyond the scope of race. All languages are adulterated as are the races.

3. *Race and Colour*.—Though colour is a striking phenomenon, it is most evasive.¹ The European peoples living on the Mediterranean coast are, on the whole, darker than the Northern Europeans. But millions of them resemble the Northern Europeans in physical features. Indians are dark in complexion although many of them possess well defined features. Except for their colour, they would easily pass for Europeans. On the other hand, it must not be supposed that all Europeans possess chiselled features! A 'tanned' white man is as dark as many Asiatics. It is an admitted fact that, in the U.S.A., people with Negroid racial strain cross the 'colour line' and pass for white people, taking advantage of their colour. The colour of millions of people born from the whites and the blacks is lighter than that of most Indians, and just as in the case of Indians, their complexion also is misleading. Many Anglo-Indians who may almost pass for white people and speak only English are not recognized by the whites as their kith and kin. Therefore, neither the language one speaks nor the colour one possesses is a clue to race. 'Colour is an accident in India.'² Blue eyes, and blond, red or black hair must be dismissed as unreliable factors, since these are not confined to any one people or land: these are found even in India.³ The texture of the hair or the size of the lips, height or weight, or the structure of the eye-brow or forehead are not absolutely infallible indices. If colour and form, on the other hand, reveal the identity of race, then the people of India with a possible exception of a very few people may be said to belong to one and the same race owing to their uni-

¹ *Ibid.*, 13 ff

² Risley, 15.

³ Archer, *India and the Future*, 24-25.

formity in colour, form and structure! In the Punjab many people who are robust-looking are drawn from the Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and other communities alike. Among other factors, diet has played a considerable role in developing the people of the Punjab.

4. *Race and Religion*.—Of all the factors, religion has the least qualification to lead us in this matter. Christianity has a following in every land and clime, and all the races of the world have found a place in the Church of Christ. Christianity cannot be identical with any race, for it has won converts from every nationality and race since the very beginning of its history. Islam, like Christianity, cuts across national, linguistic and racial barriers. Islam knows no race. Today, Buddhism has a following in Burma, China and Japan as well as India, and the peoples of these regions are certainly not of the same race. Hinduism, Sikhism and Bahaism are also missionary religions, and have their following among different classes of people. No religion, in fact, has exclusively monopolised a race or people. Jews were a thoroughly mixed race as early as the first century A.D., and they are now much more racially fused than at any other time.¹ The American Jew whose forefathers were many and diverse is a Jew only in sentiment. The teachings of Confucius are considered ethical rather than religious, and if one asserts that Confucianism is identical with the Chinese race, one may be reminded, that in the present population of China can be found all types and all kinds of racial strains. However, if religion is identical with race, then the majority of Indians belong to one and the same religion, and hence, to the same race!

5. *Race, Mind and Morals*.—As far as moral, intellectual and emotional maturity is concerned, almost all groups and nations make an equal claim that they are as good as any other, if not better. The view that no race or group has an exclusive monopoly over the

¹ Wells, *The Outline of History*, 230; Ross, E. A., *Social Psychology*, 3.

moral and intellectual achievement of mankind is supported by an eminent scientist.¹ 'The scientific study of race has been an integral part of anthropology from its earliest beginnings because it provided a record, written in the bones and other bodily characteristics of men, of the history of mankind; and in this study anthropologists have found overwhelmingly that race did not correlate with superiority or inferiority.'² Further, what may be moral today may be considered immoral or non-moral in the course of years. The Roman government hanged the worst criminals on the cross as an administrative and legal measure, but the cross in history has come to acquire a new and creative meaning. The inquisition might have been considered a righteous weapon by many a bishop and priest of the Roman Catholic Church, but most historians have denounced it as a wicked and cruel instrument of repression. What might have been considered holy wars, fought on behalf of God and His holy prophets and, for the sake of holy places, are considered unholy by many writers and thinkers. With the support of holy scriptures, holy temples and mosques were destroyed. The Victorian morality of the nineteenth century is already regarded as prudish and amusing. Many injunctions of Moses as of several other religious leaders are considered as quite antiquated and out of date. Freebooting was considered a patriotic duty by many Englishmen when Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake looted the Spaniards on the high seas. Many honest Protestants who regularly attended churches were slave traders.

Intelligence is not necessarily hereditary. 'The idea that the achievements of fore-fathers are passed on to their descendants by heredity, is completely discredited. Heredity takes no notice of the glories of civilization, whether they are in science or in technology or in art;

¹ Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, 75. *Aryans and Non-Aryans*, 11.

² Benedict, *Race and Racism*, 63.

these can be perpetuated in any group, not by nature, but by nurture." Moreover, intelligence is not synonymous with morality. It is neither good nor bad in itself. An intelligent man or woman may be a good or a bad person. Intelligence can be used for evil or creative ends. Applied science representing applied and organized intelligence can be used to discover new methods of butchery or to give life and leisure to millions.

Given an opportunity, every group will justify its existence by its intellectual and moral achievements. The record of the American Negro in the U.S.A. will serve us as a living example of what a people are capable of achieving in an atmosphere of intellectual and political freedom. Not long ago, the Negroes were owned as slaves to be sold and bought like Chattels in the open market. Paul Robeson and George Washington Carver, by their life and achievement, have given a decent burial to the theory of racial superiority. Carver was born as a slave like Booker T. Washington. He became one of the world's greatest scientists before he died a few years ago. Robeson is one of the greatest Shakespearian actors. As an artist and singer, he ranks second to none. Racial superiority will be repudiated as long as men and women continue to read the story of Robeson, Carver and Booker T. Washington. The American who is indeed a recent product in the evolution of society has an unequalled ability for organization and pioneering. Japan is one of the youngest nations of the world, but the Japanese have learnt in a few decades what the West took centuries to learn. The Russian achievement, especially in view of their past history, is a glowing tribute to their intellectual prowess which can hardly be called hereditary.

Emotional maturity is not reached because one belongs to this or that society or race. Some individuals miserably lack this quality even if they belong to this or that class. Emotional maturity is possible

in any individual if he is sensitive to the creative forces operating in a well ordered society capable of satisfying the moral, intellectual and emotional needs of the individual. Sometimes a person may succeed or fail even if the environment is creatively rich. Under these circumstances, it will be absurd to determine the identity of race with reference to morality, intelligence or emotional maturity. In every group, class and nation, we find moral, intelligent and emotionally well adjusted individuals. Furthermore, what is true of an individual may not be true of the whole group, for it is not the race or the group that copulates and reproduces, but it is the individual. Race as a pointer to emotional maturity is an abstraction that defies all analysis. 'All the human material we have indicates that, even in segregated communities, there is some multiple ancestry.'¹ The contention that morality, intelligence and emotional maturity are the basis of nationhood can be met by a counter contention that these qualities are not confined to a group or race exclusively, but are found in individuals belonging to any class or society. India is no exception to this rule. The moment we understand that the identity or the purity of race is fallacious and that nationhood does not require it as a fundamental basis, then, any argument one may advance for or against the formation of Indian nationhood on the basis of race, will crumble down. Equally, the view that moral, emotional or intellectual maturity depends on race does not hold water.

6. *Conclusion.*—It is for this reason among others that Marriott has boldly stated, 'The principle of nationality has defied definition and even analysis.'² Sir J. R. Seeley, one of the most celebrated British writers, frankly confessed, 'We take no pains to conceive clearly or define precisely what we call a nationality.'³

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, a highly placed

¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

² Marriott, *The Eastern Question*, 174.

³ Seeley, *The Expansion of England*, 220.

British subject who renounced his British citizenship to become a German 'citizen, wrote a sensational book¹ on the superiority of the Teutonic people over all other peoples. It served as excellent propaganda material for the German Government to goad its people to a 'place in the sun'. Since then, the premium on racial superiority and race purity has risen to great heights, only to fall to pieces before the light of science. Chamberlain is one of the greatest racialists of all times and his book was a veritable gospel for all racialists since the turn of our century. The conclusions of Chamberlain were repudiated by many scholars on strictly scientific grounds, but none has done it more authoritatively than John Oakesmith, who concluded that 'everywhere we find an inextricable jumble of meeting and mingling elements from different racial sources; everywhere we find that "chaos of peoples".'² Consequently, any attempt to prove the purity or the identity of race in India would be futile. But an inquiry into the nature of the racial fusion is not out of place.

B. The Different Racial Types in India

As we have already noted, racial types in India, as elsewhere, are thoroughly mixed. In the attempt to investigate the racial types, let it be noted that intellectual, moral and emotional superiority is neither implied nor attributed. These qualities, as already indicated, do not have any reference to the different racial types either in India or outside. It is also assumed that there is practically no pure race or superior race. The very idea of a whole people being pure or impure, superior or inferior, is intellectually repellent.

To the observations of the naked eye, three racial types are to be found in India. First of all, the Ethiopian, Negroid, or Black type with 'dark complexion, frizzy black hair, a head almost invariably long (dolicho-

¹ Chamberlain, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, 56 ff.

² Oakesmith, *Race and Nationality*, 54.

cephalic), very broad and flat nose, scanty development of beard, thick overted lips and large teeth.¹ The second is the Mongolian or Yellow type with 'yellow complexion, straight hair, almost no beard, broad and flat face, projected cheek bones, small nose depressed at the root with a peculiar slanting eye-lid formation.' The third is the Caucasian or White type, with fair complexion, dark or fair, soft, straight or wavy hair, a fully developed beard, medium or long head and narrow face and nose. Of these, the Ethiopian and the Mongoloid element plays an insignificant part in the racial composition of the people of India.

1. *The Racial Confusion in India.*—Groups of people, popularly known as 'Aryans' deriving their name 'Aryan' from the dialects they were speaking, were eventually absorbed by the rest of India. If an argument is advanced that the Caucasian or the White types represent the Aryan conquerors who, in order to segregate the conquered Dravidian and Mongoloid groups, devised the caste system to keep their race pure, that argument will crumble in the presence of Caucasian types even among the untouchables and outcastes. Furthermore, the Negroid types among the Brahmins and other high caste Hindus will make the argument still weaker. It has already been pointed out that the caste system was not based on race. Therefore, either the caste system had no racial emphasis or it did not seriously hinder racial or class mixture. But having known something of the rigidity of this vicious social system, one may venture to say that racial mixture must have gone on among the different types, particularly between the Aryans and the non-Aryans for centuries before the caste system was invented. The sex impulse must have cut across all racial and regional barriers, and must have entirely ignored the social barrier that caste imposed. It is safe to assume that racial fusion must have gone on for countless ages

¹ Risley, 20 ff.

before and after these three types came into existence. Nesfield is right when he says, 'No observer could now distinguish members of higher castes from the scavengers who sweep the roads.'¹ When we divorce the caste system from its racial assumptions, our problem is further simplified.

Long, long before the Aryans came into India, civilizations flourished in various parts of the country.² Since the advent of the Aryans, many other groups such as the Greeks, Sakas, Yuehchi, Persians, Huns, Turks, Afghans, Mongols, Arabs and numerous European and Asiatic peoples have come and made India their home. No doubt, racial fusion must have gone on among these groups with or without the sanctions of society. Migration and inter-mingling were indeed some of the prominent features of this period. The history of the people of Israel from the time of Abraham to Jesus serves as a supreme illustration of this contention. The story of the British people from the time of Agricola to this day is another striking example. As a rule, among the nomadic people, women rarely flourished. Most of the immigrants into India, including nomadic and war-like Aryans, took few, if any, women with them in their long wanderings. Even today, there are regions like the North West Frontier Province and Afghanistan where the percentage of women is lower than that of men. As India was the home of stable society and civilization, most of these immigrants did not find it difficult to secure their mates from among the original or earlier inhabitants of India.

The march of armies up and down the country, the endless sweep of invasion after invasion, the fall of dynasties, the conquest of one group by another, the feudal system that made large numbers of men and women subservient to the whims and fancies of a noble or lord, the immorality of the ruling class, the institution of polygamy, the introduction of the harem, the

¹ *Ibid.*, 265.

² Smith, 14 ff.

alliances by marriage, the economic, political and social motives, and above all the urge to reproduce, turned Indian society topsy-turvy during the course of a thousand years, and made the whole of India a veritable 'melting-pot'. The tremendous social impact of these factors and forces was at once far-reaching and penetrating. These cataclysms and convulsions so thoroughly modified and changed the racial types that whatever 'racial purity' India was once capable of maintaining and sustaining was irretrievably lost. The old types disappeared beyond recognition, and new ones were in the making.

There were also other factors which contributed to the social revolution which shook the structure of society to its foundations and brought a Babel of tongues and peoples. Serfdom and slavery eliminated whatever sanctity was yet attached to human personality, and just as the slaves were exploited by the White masters whose only concern was to increase the number of slaves by fair or foul means, the feudal lords of India, wanting to increase their fighting and labour forces, must have directed their sexual rapacity to the exploitation of thousands of helpless women. Wars often resulted in slavery and immorality. The victors enslaved the vanquished, and thus war, slavery, and debauchery went hand in hand. In this chaotic state, society merged into society and class into class. In the midst of this social confusion, men and women of untraceable ancestral origin evidently regrouped themselves into various castes and emerged in various walks of life. That castes have been pure and unchanged generation after generation is a presumption that is liable to be defeated by a variety of circumstances. It is a hypothesis entirely unsupported by evidence.

The reform movements in Hinduism, such as Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism, the Arya Samaj and the Brahma Samaj, which stressed unity and brotherhood, further paved the way for a closer union of groups and

peoples. The Muslim emperors of India and the Muslim aristocrats freely married Hindu and non-Muslim wives. The harems of the Muslim princes were filled with non-Muslim women. In several instances, the mothers of Muslim emperors were Hindus. Akbar and Sher Shah considered themselves national sovereigns rather than communal kings. 'Such a fusion of Hindu and Muslim blood cemented the foundations of good-will, friendship and toleration and helped in the removal of the feeling of foreignness from the heart of the people.'¹ Evidently, the desire for unity was so great that in popular Hinduism there are many instances of gods having relations with the so-called untouchables and outcastes. According to a Tamil myth, Shiva's son, Subramanian, married an untouchable girl named Valli.

More recently, education, travel, railways, cinemas, radical and revolutionary ideals, dance halls, tea-parties, industrialization, city life, social contacts, external and internal enemies, the nationalising forces and a host of other factors have made unforeseen inroads into the racial composition of the people. Out of the endless absorption, confusion and inter-crossing that have been going on for ages, there have resulted a great modification of the three basic types. Of these modifications, perhaps seven can be distinguished, and possibly more. But we are not as concerned with the types for their own sake as we are with their influence on the processes of nationhood. Racial types, however, have no political or economic significance. The theory of 'martial races' and 'non-martial races' is archaic and ridiculous. It is equally ridiculous to talk of Bengali, Punjabi or Madrasi races. To talk of a few groups in India as 'martial' and 'non-martial' races is to confess one's historical ignorance. Wars have been fought from time immemorial in every section of India. Many kings who fought these countless battles in every part

¹ Topa, *Sidelights on the Problem of Indian Nationality*, 40.

of India were not dependent on the Gurkhas or the martial races of the Punjab. Every section of the country was conquered by England. The Chinese and the Russians do not have the reputation of being known as martial races, but their recent reputation as soldiers is world-wide. In a broadcast to the whole of India, the Viceroy declared on the 14th of June, 1945, 'India's military reputation never stood higher in the world than it does at present: thanks to the exploits of her sons drawn from all parts of the country.'

2. *The Negroid or Ethiopian Fusion*.—The Negroid infusion in India is a controversial question, and Indian racialists may blindly repudiate any allegations along that line. According to Sir William Turner, a great authority on the ethnology of India, in an examination and investigation of the racial fusion among the people of India including the Dravidian groups, 'no direct evidence of either a past or a present Negrito population has yet been obtained.'¹ The observations and conclusions of Sir William Archer with which many racialists and others may be in complete agreement, imply that the population of India is largely of Caucasian variety except for a 'slight Negroid fusion'. 'But it is scarcely more influential than the Negroid infusion in Europe.'² He goes on to find the similarity between the Europeans and the Indians, and states that 'a large part of the Indian people is admittedly of the same stock as ourselves.'³ If a slight Negroid fusion is observable in India as it is in Europe, then the question arises regarding its source.

It is generally agreed that, among the Aryans, (if any such ethnological group is yet left unfused and unmixed), no evidence of the Negrito population could be located. According to Sir William Turner, the Dravidians are free from its influence. Such a view as this one is shared by Sir William Hunter, a distinguished

¹ Risley, 32 ff.

² Hyndman, *The Awakening of Asia*, 273.

³ Archer, 25 ff.

historian, who is of the opinion that the Dravidians long ago inhabited certain regions of Central Asia which they left for India thousands of years before the Aryan migration.¹ Sir William Hunter's investigations and conclusions are corroborated by a great many other writers who claim that the Dravidians must have entered India through the North-Western mountain passes long before history was recorded.² The findings of these great writers find support and confirmation, apart from other evidences, by the fact that in Baluchistan, *Brahui*, a dialect belonging to the Dravidian family, is still spoken. In many parts of Northern India, dialects belonging to the Dravidian origin are spoken. One can find many Dravidian words in the languages of Northern India.

There is also another theory concerning the original home of the Dravidians. According to this theory, Dravidians occupied a sunken continent to the south of India and proceeded eventually northwards. But there are two fallacies in this popular thesis. In the first place, the Dravidian types are found everywhere in India, and dialects related to the Dravidian family are spoken in many parts of the country. Secondly, ethnologists are of the opinion that 'the physiognomy of the Dravidians is very similar to that of the Caucasians and has but little resemblance to the Mongolians.'³ Therefore, the theory that the Dravidians were the original inhabitants of India or that they came from Central Asia thousands of years ago seems to be more tenable and acceptable. The Dravidian predominance in the South is explained by the point of view that the later Aryans drove them there. Under these circumstances, the only possible explanation of the Negroid infiltration into India is that it was inevitable in view of the immense trade and close connection between Africa and India from immemorial times. It is also possible that many Africans settled

¹ Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, 384, ff.

² *The Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency*, (1885) I, 29 ff.

³ Elmore, *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*, 1.

down in India for the purposes of trade and commerce. A few must have entered India as adventurers, and a few because of shipwrecks and other circumstances.

Out of the racial-social blending that has gone on in India for countless years, racial types are not distinctly clear cut. But one may, with effort, discover seven physical types—the Turko-Iranian, the Indo-Aryan, the Scytho-Dravidian, the Aryo-Dravidian, the Mongolo-Dravidian, the Mongoloid, and the Dravidian. These types may serve as a basis for the study of ethnology, anthropology or sociology, but they are more than irrelevant to the formation of national consciousness or in the evaluation of nationhood. Physical types have nothing to do with the formation of a nation-state, and it is absurd to measure the growth of nationhood in terms of bones, blood and flesh. If, 'in fact, all the recognized nations of Europe are the result of a process of unrestricted crossing,'¹ then the lack of racial purity, identity or uniformity will never hinder the growth of nationhood. As 'no race has ever been gathered into a single 'nation-state' anywhere in the world, it obviously follows that Indian nationhood is not dependent upon racial unity or diversity².

3. *Racial Uniformity in India.*—However one may distort the facts concerning the racial situation in India one cannot deny the presence of a basic racial uniformity and affinity throughout the length and breadth of India. A strong case for racial similarity and uniformity is not difficult to make. To the most casual outside observer, the people in all parts of India are more or less related to each other in appearance and physical features, and are more akin to Europeans in appearance and in physical features than they are to Mongolians or Negroes³. If a claim is made that Europe is predominantly Caucasian in terms of racial types, an equally strong, if not a stronger, claim along the same lines can be made for India. For a large country like India, the uniformity of racial resemblance is striking. Indeed

¹ Risley, 26

² Gooch, 6

³ Archer, 25-26.

it may be difficult to point out another large country either in Europe or America with a similar uniformity. The United States of America or the Soviet Union, with a political solidarity that few other countries of that size can claim, does not possess the uniformity in physical resemblance that India does. Indians resemble Europeans in physical features rather than the Chinese, Japanese or Negroes. As was pointed out, the term 'Aryan' is purely linguistic or qualitative (noble or peasant), and not racial as is often implied. But if it is used to designate a race or racial type, then the Europeans and the Indians apparently belong to the same racial origin whatever the name of that race may be. The identity of the Indian with the European in physical features is so obvious that their common origin does not demand any explanation.

The uniformity in physical features that we never fail to observe throughout India is an evidence of the fact that, during the course of many thousand years, the Aryans, Dravidians and other racial groups were thoroughly mixed and fused among themselves and that the present racial similarity was the only possible outcome. The mutual absorption, assimilation, and fusion inevitably resulted in growing uniformity of appearance and physical features.¹ Then, the natural assumption would be that, the Aryans and the Dravidians especially were so similar in these respects that, the unrestricted crossing that has gone on for centuries, naturally resulted in the reproduction of their own physical types. The administrative groupings such as the people of the Punjab, U.P., Bombay and Madras have no racial or social significance although irrationality and mental lunacy may create sentiments very similar to racial sentiments. Mention has been already made that diet has been a great factor in building up the stature of an average person in the Punjab. The innumerable invasions of the Punjab have also contributed their share in the development and

¹ Risley, 46, 256-259, 265-266, 274.

growth of the physique. Therefore, many people in the Punjab are much better built than most people in the rest of India.

C. The Dravidian People

1. *Their Culture and Civilization.*—The world has heard much about the Aryan race, Aryan culture and Aryan civilization. The parading of the *Swā-stika* has brought in much satisfaction to the racial egoists both in Europe and India. To be known as an Aryan or to be considered a member of the Aryan race gives these racialists an immense satisfaction. It is strange that even in this scientific age, facts concerning the oldest, if not the original inhabitants of India, have been either ignored or only partially brought to light. In this respect, the ignorance of the 'educated class' is singularly striking. We shall therefore conclude this chapter with a brief study of the Dravidian people and their civilization.

The Dravidians among whom, as was observed, no evidence of Negroid racial strains may be traced, were not barbarous savages, but a highly civilized people, well versed in the art of government, trade, commerce, art and literature long before the marauding Aryans ever set eyes on India. Vincent Smith, the Oxford historian of India, observes that the ancient history of India is incomplete without a full investigation of the high degree of civilization extant in India long before the nomadic Aryan tribes penetrated into her plains.¹ The recent archaeological discoveries in Harappa and Mahenjodaro support this view. Sir John Marshall, under whose direction the excavation of these places was undertaken, emphatically states that long before the Aryans were ever heard of, the people of India had enjoyed a civilization, in some respects superior to that of Ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia. 'Never for a moment was it imagined that five thousand years ago, before even the Aryans were heard of, the Punjab and Sind, if not other parts

¹ Smith, 14, 144-145, Durant, 394 ff.

of India as well, were enjoying an advanced and singularly uniform civilization of their own, closely akin but in some respects even superior to that of contemporary Mesopotamia and Egypt. They (the discoveries) exhibit the Indian peoples of the fourth and third millennia B.C. in possession of a highly developed culture in which no vestige of Indo-Aryan influence is to be found.¹ Evidence points to the Dravidians as the builders of this ancient civilization. Only a few sites have been excavated, and when the field of archaeology is fully explored and further investigation is made into the mysteries of the past, a great many more authentic facts will come to light.

The Dravidians were indeed highly cultured and 'civilized enough to have towns and disciplined troops, to have weapons and banners; women whose ornaments were of gold, poisoned arrows whose heads were of some metal that was probably iron.'² Recent researches have thrown a lot of light on the various aspects of Dravidian life and thought. Their society was so well organized that it could stand the ravages of time. The history of European cities is barely two thousand five hundred years old; but if a people could develop a city civilization three thousand years before the birth of Christ, then centuries of culture must have preceded them. 'The ordinary townspeople enjoyed here a degree of comfort and luxury unexampled in other parts of the civilized world.'³ As late as the first century A.D., a Tamil⁴ (Tamil and Dravidian are synonymous terms) king of Madura, the capital of the Pandya dynasty and the seat of the Tamil university (Sangam), sent a mission to Caesar Augustus at Rome over thousands of miles of land and sea. This one incident alone could throw much light on the character of the Dravidians and the nature of their civilization.⁵

¹ Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. v.

² Steel, *India Through the Ages*, 2.

³ Marshall, vi.

⁴ Tamil is synonymous with Dravida or Dravidian, Smith, 13.

⁵ Smith, 143.

Havell who, like Green and Carlyle, is convinced of the Aryan superiority unconsciously, admits that 'the Aryans were a far more cultured race, but their organization resembled in some respects that of the Dravidian robber tribes.'¹ If, according to Havell, the civilization of the Dravidian robber tribes resembled that of the Aryans, then the culture and civilization of the advanced Dravidians were unique, especially when, according to Havell, their robber tribes 'had a settled village system before the Aryans entered India.' The economic and political organizations of the Dravidians, even as late as the first century A.D., were so advanced as to carry on an extensive foreign trade with many foreign countries including Rome and the Roman Empire.² 'The Tamil land in possessing such eagerly desired commodities as gold, pearls, conch-shells, pepper, beryls, and choice cotton goods, attracted foreign traders from the earliest ages.'³

The earliest accounts of the Dravidians by the Aryan writers throw interesting side-lights on the life and character of the Dravidians. The fore-fathers of the Dravidians are described in the *Vedas* by the Aryans as the 'neglectors of sacrifice, the dwellers in cities, rich in gold and beautiful women.' Their Aryan enemies fervently prayed to their tribal god, 'Oh! Destroyer of foes! Kill them!'⁴ The writers of the *Vedas* described these highly cultured people as 'prayerless, riteless, non-worshipping, priestless and wealthy barbarians' who did not 'perform any sacrifice or believe in anything.' The Aryans invoked the aid of their god in killing a people for neglecting sacrifice, dwelling in cities, possessing gold and beautiful women, and for not believing in prayer, worship, priestcraft and magic which religious rites implied. The Dravidians had nothing but contempt for savage and bloody sacrifices, and

¹ Havell, *The History of the Aryan Rule in India*, 14, 10.

² Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, 93

³ Smith, 15.

⁴ Steel, 7.

mystical rites; they were advanced and progressive enough to live in cities and deal in gold and other precious metals; their beautiful women were the result of centuries of evolution and culture; and in those days, to disbelieve in priestcraft and magical rites required a high degree of intellectual calibre which the Aryans apparently did not possess. The Aryans praying for the destruction of such a people is a commentary on their own culture and civilization which pro-Aryan racialists laud as superior to that of the Dravidians! Facts must speak for themselves.

The dwellers of 'iron cities' which the Aryans detested possessed, as late as the first century A.D., talents to negotiate terms with powers six thousand miles away to expand their foreign trade.¹ It may be incidentally mentioned that Muziris or Cranganore was the great port connected with the foreign trade of India during this period. Trade and commerce were so attractive and profitable that many Roman traders permanently settled in the city of Madura.²

Mention also must be made of the Dravidian or Tamil literature. *Manimegali Silappathigaram*, *Kural*, *Naladiar* and *Kamba Ramayanam*, to name only a few, are some of the greatest works in Tamil.³ According to Smith, the author of the *Kural*, 'taught ethical doctrines of singular beauty and purity, which cannot so far as I know, be equalled in the Sanskrit literature of the North.' This view is generally accepted by scholars whose knowledge of Tamil is first hand. To an eminent scholar like Banerji, 'Tamil is the richest Dravidian language, and its literature is of extraordinary merit.'⁴ The institution of slavery was unknown to the Tamils even as early as the fourth century B.C. Jainism and Buddhism found ready acceptance among the Tamils

¹ Smith, 143; Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, I, 453

² Rawlinson, *Intercourse Between India and the Western World*, 166.

³ Bharathi, *Collections (Nootkal)*, 104 ff.

⁴ Smith, 144; Banerji, *Pre-Historic, Ancient and Hindu India*, 10.

even at that distant date. Precious metals were mined ; a powerful navy was maintained ; and in the beginning of the Christian era, we find that Europeans were appointed as body-guards to the Tamil kings.¹ The Pandya kings of the Tamils were known to the Sanskrit grammarian Katyayana. From the writings of Magasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator, we come to know that the Dravidian women played a prominent part in the public affairs of the land.²

2. *Eventual Fusion of Aryans and Dravidians.*—The complex nature of the Hindu religious system is partly explained by the fusion of the Aryans and Dravidians and their culture. Modern discoveries suggest that the worship of Durgā and Siva was of a greater antiquity than the Aryan era. The religious changes were due mainly to the fusion of Aryans and Dravidians and their distinctive cultures, the ancient Dravidians having been a refined and a highly civilized people . . . The Dravidians had a currency while yet the Aryans practised a system of barter, and were sea traders before the introduction of a Sanskrit equivalent for the word 'sea'.³ History does not throw much light on how the Aryans and the Dravidians slowly but surely assimilated each other and ultimately became one people ; how the caste system finally prevailed over the casteless Dravidians ; and how it bound the whole of India into the most powerful social, economic and religious organization known to history. The presence of so many high castes in South India, and the free social intercourse among almost all the castes—except perhaps the priestly Brahmin and the so-called untouchable—reveal that the caste system, as found in the extreme North, was quite modified by the custom, usage and culture of the South. However, the present caste system is not based on race. The present-day castes are a conglomeration of peoples irrespective of their ancient origin.

¹ Smith, *The Early History of India*, 457 ff

² *Ibid.*, 470.

³ MacKenzie, *Foreword* p. ix, in Banerji, *Hindu India*.

3. *Conclusion.*—It is probable that every Indian has in his ancestry at least something of the Dravidian, Aryan and Mongolian elements if not others. The Mongolian element in the North-Eastern part of India is so thoroughly fused with the Dravidian and Aryan groups that they are one people today in consciousness and action as revealed by their social pattern and behaviour. The provincial boundaries are meaningless before the feeling of national solidarity. Even during the Muslim ascendancy, race as such was not a factor in national or social life. 'Hindu soldiers and Muslim soldiers fought shoulder to shoulder against the Muslims, and Hindu and Muslim armies fought in the same manner against the Hindus.'¹

Today, India is racially a homogeneous mixture of all component races and, therefore, may be said to be predominantly of one people and one culture. With a racial uniformity comparable to any nation in the West, India's claim to nationhood on the basis of racial identity cannot be refuted. Indeed, on this ground, she has a stronger claim than can be advanced by the U.S.A., Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, Turkey or any other European or South American nation. The superiority or inferiority of the Indian race does not arise as there is no scientific basis for an inherited superiority of this race or that. If such a superiority is insisted upon by interested parties, then, owing to India's racial kinship with the West, she is at par with the latter². The identity of race and cultural homogeneity are so obvious in the Indian society that few foreign travellers fail to notice this striking phenomenon. The Simon Commission has confirmed the obvious when it declared that the centuries of common history, habits, customs, manners and social interests have produced 'an unchanged outlook on life, a continuing social tradition and a characteristic philosophy that endures.'³

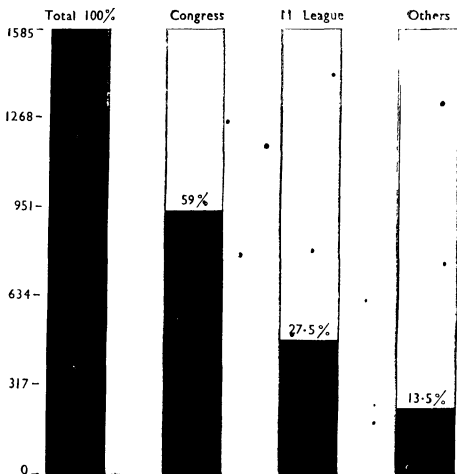
¹ Topa, 28.

² Lajpat Rai, *The Political Future of India*, 209.

³ Simon Commission *Report*, I, 10.

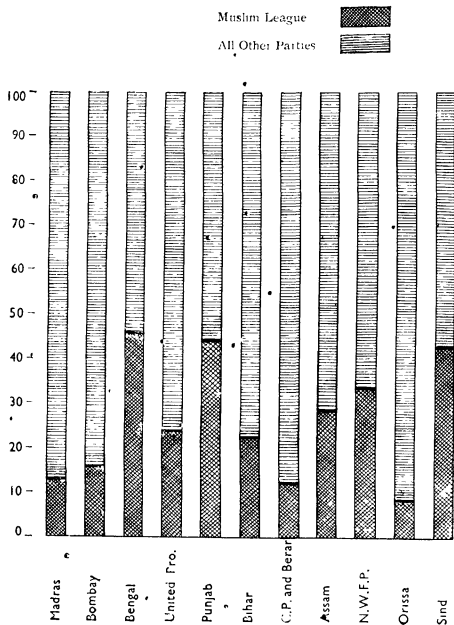
PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, 1946 **Comparative Party Strength on All-India Basis**

| | | |
|--|-----|-------|
| Total seats in the Provincial Legislatures ... | ... | 1,585 |
| Total seats captured by the Congress .. | ... | 931 |
| Total seats captured by the Muslim League . | | 427 |
| Total seats captured by all other Parties .. | . | 225 |



N.B.—Muslims enjoy weightage in those provinces where they form a minority.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, 1946 **Muslim League in Comparison with All Other Parties**



A B —The Muslim League has not secured 50 per cent of the seats in any of the 11 provinces

CHAPTER IV

RACE AND SOCIAL CONFLICT IN INDIA



1. The Brahmin versus the Non-Brahmin

'If we look through all the earth,
Men we see have equal birth;
Made in one great brotherhood,
Equal in the sight of God;
Food or caste or place of birth,
Cannot alter human worth,
Why let caste be so supreme,
That love of mankind be a dream?'

The complete absence of racial purity or the unrecognizable racial fusion in Indian society has not prevented the existence of socio-religious groups nor a number of castes and sub-castes. The presence of these groups with varying degrees of political, social and economic status is bound to result in a class conflict of one type or another. An investigation of the nature of these conflicts will reveal that appeals to racial differences are merely a cover for political and economic ends. And therefore, the manifestations of these conflicts must not be mistaken, under any circumstances, for a racial struggle. 'The history of this country lends little support to the theory, however time-honoured it may be, that the origins of caste are to be traced in the conflict of race

and colour The caste cannot, therefore, be described as a religious or racial institution as has often been done.¹

One of the social conflicts centres around the Brahmin and Non-Brahmin groups of the South. The Non-Brahmins of the Madras Presidency form one of the most distinct and vocal groups in India. In the very nature of the racial situation in India and the way they have been racially fused, the much advertised Brahmin-Non-Brahmin conflict cannot be due to racial antagonism. Just as it is in the West, so interested parties may work up the emotions of an unthinking mob by their ardent appeals to racial superiority and exclusiveness which do not really exist, but belief in which is bound to result in unfortunate social consequences. The conflict between the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins is of recent origin, and is more or less due to unequal political and economic privileges.

In the course of history, the social and psychological aloofness of these two groups, and the exclusive monopoly of the political and economic rights and privileges by the Brahmin, have greatly widened the gulf between them. In an age of enlightenment, the social snobbery of the Brahmin against the Non-Brahmin, is vehemently resented by a large section of the educated Non-Brahmins. The Brahmins, as a caste, are perhaps the most socially exclusive and reactionary group to be found anywhere. It is said that the Brahmin is the worst offender in the practice of untouchability and caste superiority. The South Indian Brahmin, who socially is one of the world's most conservative persons, does give acute offence by his anti-social behaviour. In the South, the Brahmin does not marry outside of his caste, nor does he participate in inter-dining except on rare occasions. In most villages, he prefers to live in utter segregation. In spite of his social taboos, he

¹ Datta, *Studies in Indian Social Polity* (Review, *Tribune*, Lahore), March 25, 1945, p. 6. (By K. C. Bedi).

still retains a great hold on the masses owing largely to his past social prestige. Just as the Roman Catholic priests in the Middle Ages or the priests of the Greek Orthodox Church in Tsarist Russia retained a powerful grip on the common people, the Brahmin too, as a priest, has held a great sway over tens of thousands who feel nothing but awe and reverence in his presence. By his anti-social conduct, and as one who has been primarily responsible for the religious superstition of millions of people, he has lent himself to violent criticism by the progressive and sometimes self-seeking Non-Brahmins.

From time immemorial, education has been an exclusive monopoly of the Brahmins. Because of this preeminence in education and organized religion, he has often occupied high offices in state and government. In the Hindu Church, he always occupied a foremost place. Such a unique position as the Brahmin has occupied in organized religion, education and government service did not arouse much jealousy until the Non-Brahmins themselves began to seek government posts, and found, to their amazement, that the Brahmin monopolized them. This was the beginning of the Non-Brahmin suspicion of the Brahmin leadership and motive. The continued predominance of the Brahmin, until recently, in almost all the branches of the administration excepting the armed forces, have worked havoc in the relations between the Brahmin and the Non-Brahmin. Particularly in view of this fact that, the Brahmins form less than five per cent of the population, the Non-Brahmins who form an overwhelming majority were especially dismayed and frustrated.¹

The influence of this small group of Brahmins in the political affairs of the South is most extraordinary. The control of key posts in the Government and the predominance they enjoy in education and organized religion have been partly responsible for their exaggerated

¹ *Reports of the Franchise Committee*, 1919, 27; *Brahmins* 1, 221, 967; *Non-Brahmins* 27, 716, 306; *Untouchable Non-Brahmins*, 6, 377, 168 in the Madras Presidency.

political and social influence. The Non-Brahmins (omitting the depressed classes) outnumber the Brahmins in the proportion of 22 to 1, and the Non-Brahmin-untouchable Hindus alone outnumber the Brahmins in the proportion of 5 to 1. In other words, for every Brahmin, there are more than 26 Non-Brahmins. But the Brahmins control more than 20 per cent of the votes.¹ The fear of the 'Brahmin oligarchy' has been so great, because their 'preponderating influence' in government and legal profession has been so vast and out of proportion to their numbers, that the Non-Brahmins as a class, refused to appear before the Franchise Committee in connection with the Government of India Act of 1919. On the other hand, they begged for protection against the Brahmins, and demanded separate electorates for themselves.² The Chairman of the Franchise Committee, Lord Southborough himself was greatly surprised when 95 per cent of the population craved protection against a microscopic minority. Usually, it is the minority that demands protection, but here is an amazing illustration of an overwhelming majority seeking protection against a small minority!

The conflict between these two groups is partly due to the tactlessness and the presence of a third party. The Brahmin-Non-Brahmin conflict was so widely known that the Government could not have been unaware of it! But the appointment of only Brahmins on the Franchise Committee, for instance, so infuriated the Non-Brahmin leaders that they openly repudiated the Brahmin leadership and severely criticised the Government for showing special favour by appointing only Brahmins on this important Committee. The policy of playing one party against the other was widely criticised and resented by the thinking sections of the country. It was alleged in public that 'the homage paid by Government to the advocates of Brahmin olig-

¹*Ibid.*, 13.

²*Ibid.*, 12.

archy in preference to Indian democracy'¹ was widening the gulf between these two communities.

The Brahmin-Non-Brahmin question, therefore, is not racial but social, economic, political and psychological and, as such, is capable of solution. Those who harp upon the racial differences and raise the racial bogey are evidently ignorant of the fundamental unity and harmony of these two sections for centuries. The belief, if any, in the racial purity of these classes is largely due to the propaganda of the political demagogues and religious maniacs, to whom alone are revealed the existence of a pure race, a noble language, a divine mission and a duty to culture and civilization. The process of nationhood has been so inexorable, the impact of the nationalist sentiment so overwhelming, and the influence of the world-wide forces so dynamic that the Brahmin and the Non-Brahmin problem is fast giving place to wider and greater national issues.

It is an open secret that the leadership of the Indian National Congress in the Madras Presidency has been largely in the hands of the nationalist Brahmins. In the elections of 1937, the Congress party, headed and dominated by the Brahmin leadership, swept the elections to a degree and manner unprecedented anywhere else in India, and returned 159 members to the Madras Legislature. This was the largest number and also the largest percentage ever elected by any party, either to the Central or the Provincial Legislature. The election results in the South altogether ignored the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin conflict and pushed this much-advertised problem to the background.² The surprising thing was the unusual popularity of the Madras Congress ministry in spite of its Brahmin Premiership, and particularly of its Brahmin composition out of all proportions. More surprising than this was the complete rout of the Non-Brahmin party even under the open or secret patronage of the vested interests.

¹ *Ibid.*, 115

² Thompson, *Enlist India For Freedom*, 24.

No one ever heard of the 'purity of race' during those days. But belief in a common destiny, community of interests and a bright future welded the Brahmins and the Non-Brahmins together in a common cause and destiny. The nation was in its birth pangs, and men and women were not conscious of their race, caste or class. If, in the future, the Non-Brahmins emerge as the leaders of the people and control public affairs, and the Brahmins recede to the background, it will not be due to racial differences between these two groups, but primarily to the fact that economic and political interests will be more than a match for the superficial differences in 'race'. Even to the most casual observer, it will appear that in colour, physical features, appearance and whatever distinctions that may divide one race from another, the Brahmins are not different from the Non-Brahmins. The uniformity in the similarity of the individuals composing the population is an obvious and basic phenomenon. With the irresistible demand for social, economic and political justice for all people alike and the common enjoyment of rights and privileges, the Brahmin-Non-Brahmin conflict is bound to recede to the background. At present, the Brahmin influence and leadership is decidedly on the decrease, and the continued opposition to Rajagopalachari is merely one phase of the Non-Brahmin revolt.

2. The Depressed Classes

'At the lower end of the complicated scale of castes, and definitely below all others, are found, in every province of India except Burma, very large numbers to whom in recent years the term "Depressed Classes" has been applied. These comprise some 20 per cent of the total population of British India, or some 30 per cent of the Hindu population. They constitute the lowest castes recognised as being within the Hindu religious and social system . . . They are not only the lowest in the Hindu social and religious system, but with

few individual exceptions are also at the bottom of the economic scale, and are generally quite uneducated.¹ These people are also known as un-touchables, out-castes, scheduled castes or depressed classes. The existence of these castes and classes presents a few features and tendencies that disrupt India's social life and eat into her vitals. Calling them Harijans does not help to solve the problem. The fact that there are yet unassimilated classes like these, is in itself a blot on the Indian social order. They greatly hinder the nationalising process. They are notorious for their indifference to the nation's political life. And there has been very little incentive to induce them to political activity. In this respect, many other groups also have much in common with these people. Since the introduction of the political Reforms, the depressed and oppressed classes are becoming politically conscious, and have demanded special recognition in terms of reservation of seats in the legislatures and in the administrative branches of the government. Just as much as any other group, they have come to clamour for proportional representation regarding appointments. They have rightly entertained a legitimate grievance with regard to their political standing in the country. They are not satisfied with the way in which patronage has been distributed. They have rightly demanded political and economic equality as a forerunner of social equality.

However, this does not mean that they are racially distinct from the rest of India. They have been Indians as long as any other group has been, and perhaps longer than some. They have been subjected to the same economic and political conditions as the rank and file have been. They too want to be free and independent. The President of the All-India Depressed Classes Congress declared in August, 1930, 'I am afraid that the British chose to advertise our unfortunate conditions, not with the object of removing them, but only because such

¹ Simon Commission Report, I, 37 ff.; Dharma Theerthaji, *The Menace of Hindu Imperialism*, 209.

a course serves well as an excuse for retarding the political progress of India.¹

It goes without saying that any people striving for political freedom must, at the outset, abolish all kinds of inequalities in their own rank and file. Untouchability is an abomination, and to consider a human being an untouchable or out-caste is inhuman. Progress and social degradation are a contradiction in terms. Community of interests and common aspirations will be tremendously handicapped by social cleavages.

But the so-called untouchables and out-castes are racially akin to the rest of India. In colour, features and appearance, one cannot distinguish an untouchable from a Brahmin. The feeling that they are different from the rest of India is mental. The moment they are persuaded to consider themselves equals and partners in the task of building a new and better India, they will constitute a tremendous asset to the life of the country. Those who strive for nationhood must also strive in the future for the betterment of these classes as a part of their programme just as they have attempted in the past. The confidence that the progressive leaders of India are able to inspire into the lives of these people will bring forth equal response. Consequently, they will be made to feel that they too are sons and daughters of the soil, and as such, are entitled to equal privileges and rights as citizens of a free country. They should be enabled to have a share in the achievement of nationhood. Conditions should be so altered that they also, in a new environment, will feel proud of their status as free citizens in a nation of equals. Nationhood will have no meaning to millions of these people if they continue to be sweepers, untouchables and out-castes even in an independent India. Every Indian ought to realize that, far back in history, the so-called high castes and the so-called low castes had more or less common parentage, and that even in the ancestry of the untouchables, there must

¹ Thompson, 75; Krishna, K. B., *The Problem of Minorities*, 156.

have been princes and aristocrats. Most of them have lived in India for a longer period of time than Englishmen have lived in England or Frenchmen in France. But the supreme fact about these people is that they are not a separate race of people any more than the Welsh are different from the British. In almost every respect including the cephalic index, language, religion, culture, outlook and attachment to the soil, they are in no way different from the rest of the people.

3. The Anglo-Indians

The Anglo-Indian community had its origin in the social and biological interaction of the European with the Indian. Some of them could trace their origin and parentage to the highest ranking British official or non-official. The British army of occupation is perhaps largely responsible for this inevitable social phenomenon. The Anglo-Indian or Eurasian of direct or indirect Indo-European parentage has not been fully assimilated by the rest of India. As any new group in any old society, they have not fully adjusted themselves to their social environment. As their name implies, they are as much Indian as they are European; and their homeland is India. They mostly marry among themselves, although inter-marriage with the Europeans or Indians is not uncommon. Thus, it is evident that they are not a new race of people who have been recently discovered by anthropologists, but a people who belong to the soil of India as much as any other group. Though many of them still look back with pride to their European parentage, they are fast realizing that India is their motherland, and to her alone they must owe their ultimate political loyalty. It is in India that they must live or die. In colour, physical features and appearance, they resemble the Indian people to a large extent even though these may vary among them as they do among Indians themselves. They generally speak the English language and the language of the locality to which they belong.

The peculiar position that the Anglo-Indians occupy in Indian society is largely due to social, economic and psychological factors. The very fact that they have not been absorbed either by the British to whom they largely owe their origin or by the Indian society to which they naturally belong is an unfortunate reflection on the society in which these people find themselves. Though the European has a responsibility in this matter, he has found it hard to reconcile his responsibility with the fact that he belongs to the ruling class. The ruling class, coming from a society full of social snobbery, have practically nothing to do with these 'half-castes'. The Hindus and Muslims among whom, as among other social groups in India, there is little or no race purity, have different reasons for not absorbing them. The Hindus have a rigid sense of caste, although one may find a great many loopholes in their racial or caste exclusiveness. The Muslims largely look upon them as non-Muslims. As the Anglo-Indians do not lay claim to any caste, and largely happen to be Christian, they find themselves socially in an embarrassing position. And this situation is aggravated by the fact that they have in their veins European and Indian blood not by any fault or virtue of their own, nor even by choice, but purely by accident. The fallacy is that though every Indian is racially indistinguishable and thoroughly mixed, the Anglo-Indian, who is on his way to such an evolution, is considered an out-caste and half-caste!

The whole of India is said to be caste-ridden. Whether one is a Hindu, Muslim or Christian, caste feeling permeates the life of India. The caste system divides Hindus from Hindus, Hindus from Muslims, and Hindus from Christians and others, whether one is high or low. The feeling of caste has worked havoc in the social relationships among the various groups in India. Psychologically, the Anglo-Indians have not felt at home either with the British whom they may imitate and whom they may consider to be the dominant

ancestors, or with the Indian whom they may despise as 'natives'. The feeling of caste, purely a subjective phenomenon, even as the feeling of race among the racial maniacs, has prevented free social intercourse among all these different groups with the result that each group has developed peculiar feelings about itself to the detriment of national solidarity. Irrationality on all sides has sharpened this social cleavage. The moment mutual self-respect and trust are restored and our common human parentage and common interests are emphasised, this social mal-adjustment will dwindle into insignificance. Anglo-Indians are also Indians by birth and by citizenship. They should regard themselves as such, and those who do, are generally accepted as friends and equals, and they find an honourable place in the life of the nation.

As a conflict group, the Anglo-Indian community could be easily ignored. From the point of view of numbers, they are quite insignificant. There are in India about 119,000 Anglo-Indians.¹ Most of them live in the urban centres of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the U.P. They are very thinly scattered all over India. Economically, they are not a very enterprising group. Their social importance is negligible. Politically, they wield very little power and influence. But they are one of the most favoured communities in India. Excepting the European community, the Anglo-Indians enjoy the greatest amount of Government patronage. In the words of Montagu and Chelmsford, the Secretary of State for India and Viceroy respectively, they have 'a strong claim on the consideration of the British Government.'² With the aid of the Government, the Anglo-Indians and the Domiciled Europeans, obtain more than nine per cent of the Indian vacancies in the gazetted

¹ *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. I, India, Part II, Imperial Tables, 632.

² *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*, 217. According to the Franchise Committee's *Report*, there were 25,965 Anglo-Indians in Madras; 8,871 in Bombay, 18,902 in Bengal; 8,074 in U.P., 2,966 in Punjab; 3,187 in Bihar and Orissa; 3,343 in C.P., 437 in Assam in 1918.

railway posts and eight per cent in the subordinate railway services. In addition to these special considerations, they receive grants-in-aid for the education of their children, and a special consideration for posts in the Central Services.¹ In other words, the Government patronage towards them is out of all proportion, because they are considered to be of strategic importance to the Government. But such patronage naturally brings in its train social jealousies. Their representation in the Provincial Legislative Assemblies is equally high.² This singling out of a group for Government patronage has resulted in a class consciousness over against a national consciousness.

It is widely believed that the Anglo-Indian community is quite dependable and loyal. As a community, they have never demonstrated any anti-British feelings in an organised manner. The Government and the Anglo-Indians seem drawn to each other by necessity.³ However, there is another side to this picture. It is only fair to point out that the Anglo-Indian community are not a land-owning class, nor are they interested in agriculture. Neither are they a commercially enterprising people. They are not, as a class, engaged in trade, banking or industry. Educationally, they are not very backward. They very rarely enter the competitive examinations for government service, apart from the posts especially set apart for them. One does not find them holding positions in colleges and universities. Because of their educational limitations, they scarcely enter the teaching, legal or the medical profession. Some Anglo-Indian women enter the Nursing service and occasionally take up teaching. On the whole, were it not for government patronage, their economic position would be most desperate. It is perhaps for these reasons that the Anglo-Indians, as a class, have refrained from the politi-

¹ Indian Constitutional Reform (Session 1933-34), vol. I, Para I, Report, 175 and 192.

² *The Government of India Act 1935*, 336.

³ Mehta and Patwardhan, *The Communal Triangle in India*, 235.

cal activities of the country, and have not made common cause with the rest of India in the fight for independence.

Many look upon them as a disruptive force in the national life of India, not quite appreciating their social and economic position. A change is bound to come with a change in social attitudes and economic matters. Quite recently, however, the Anglo-Indians are coming into their own and rising to the occasion. On more than one occasion, they have declared their loyalty to India.¹ More and more, the realization that they are also sons and daughters of the soil, is taking a definite shape. If it is pointed out that they have been reticent about the national progress of India, it may be also pointed out that there are thousands of Hindus, Muslims and others who have no better record to show in this matter; and, on the contrary, their role as reactionaries and die-hards is proverbial. If after so many centuries of foreign rule, tens of thousands of Hindus and Muslims could be indifferent towards national amelioration, the Anglo-Indian community, which is a recent development, is no great sinner in this respect. Instead of pointing out their backwardness or generalising the nationalism of this or that community, if efforts are made to make the Anglo-Indians feel at home, they will be a great asset to nation-making. Statesmanship, generosity, common sonship to the land that gave us birth, and a long view of life will weld the people of India together. If nationality is insistent on birth—another name for race—then the Anglo-Indians, even as the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsees are the children of the soil. As these people, who cannot claim for themselves by any long stretch of imagination any exclusive race purity, belong to India, the Anglo-Indians also have that just claim.

¹ Mr. Frank Anthony startled the Cabinet Mission by his statement that he and his community desired to see a great, independent and united India. *A.P.I.*, April 10, 1946. •

4. The Indian Christians

Are the Indian Christians a separate and distinct race? There are in India more than 6,000,000¹ Christians drawn from almost each and every caste, community and religion. They are the largest single minority community, omitting the Muslims who form a majority in certain provinces of India. Indian Christians and their fore-fathers have lived on the soil for hundreds of years, and being Christian does not make them non-Indian or un-Indian. Even intelligent persons, let alone the masses, look upon the Indian Christians as an alien people recently imported into India from outside. Their foreign names like William, Cyprian, Roberts, Washington, Elwood, Johnson, James, Samuel, Cornelius and the like do not make them foreign any more than names such as Ahmad, Muhammad, Ismail, Ibrahim, Abdullah, or even Indira, Durga or Subramonyan do. Names are superficial. They merely serve a purpose just as numbers do. They are simply a convenience. They are not capable of showing intellectual, moral or national growth.

The fact that Christians are as much Indian as any one else goes without saying. Often, the leaders of the Indian Christian community have claimed their common kinship with the rest of India. Again and yet again, like the late Dr. S. K. Datta or Mr. K. T. Paul, they have proclaimed openly and publicly that they are Indians who belong to the Christian Church just as there are other Indians who happen to be Muslims, Hindus or Sikhs. Eminent Indians like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajagopalachari have never for a moment hesitated to declare that Indian Christians like K. T. Paul, S. K. Datta, and many others have been upright and honest citizens of India, and that their devotion to the cause of India was of the highest order. The writings² of Paul and Datta as well as many other Indian

¹ *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1935, 587 ff.

² Paul, *The British connection with India*; Datta, *Asiatic Asia*.

Christians reveal a high degree of statesmanship, love of freedom, honesty of purpose and a common solidarity with the rest of India. It is for such reasons as these and the rich legacy of the Indian Christian leaders, that Sir Maharaj Singh, in his Presidential address to the twenty-fifth session of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, emphatically asserted, 'We are behind no other community in our burning desire for a self-governing India in the immediate future. We are nationalists as much as any one else. We have no sympathy with the existing ideology of Empire or its attendant evil, namely the colour bar. While we are Christians and proud to be such so far as our faith is concerned, in all other matters we are Indians first and Indians last.'¹

Unlike the Anglo-Indians, the Indian Christians do not enjoy any special patronage of the Government in any branch of the administration. Though educationally they are far in advance of any other group of its size, in trade, commerce, banking and agriculture they have played a very insignificant part. In the Punjab especially, there are restrictions against their buying any agricultural land. A great many of them are engaged in educational or other allied lines, and some of them hold positions of power and responsibility. The Indian Christians speak the language of the locality to which they belong, and occasionally, some of them intermarry with the members of other groups. In most of the cities of India where Indian Christians hold responsible positions and in the villages where many of them work as teachers, most cordial relations exist between them and other communities.

The Christian schools and colleges have played a great part in inculcating the ideas of freedom and equality. Some of the most eminent leaders in the public and private life of India owe their training and character to Christian institutions. Christians have pioneered in the

¹ *The Guardian*, Madras, March, 25, 1943, 137.

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establishment of experimental schools, rural reconstruction centres, hospitals, leper asylums and orphanages. Their contribution towards social and educational reform and regeneration is singularly striking. As private institutions, Christian schools and colleges are noteworthy for their employment of Hindus, Muslims and other non-Christians, thus rising above communal clannishness and provincialism. In the Christian institutions, students of all communities, and staff recruited from all classes, learn to live and work together. Such phases of Indian Christian life effectively demonstrate its genuine national character. Judged from these standards, the other communities and classes would be hard put to it to produce equally fine records. Some of the most outstanding leaders of India have come from Christian institutions.

Though the Indian Christians are akin to the rest of India in race, colour, culture, physical features and resemblance, yet they remain a distinct social group just as the Hindus and Muslims do. This social exclusiveness, if one may speak of it in such terms, is due to several factors. The Indian Christians, drawn as they are from all classes and communities, find it very difficult to adjust themselves in a country which puts a great premium on caste and the superficialities of religion. Therefore, for all practical purposes, they have remained as another social group. For a society that is permeated with the feeling of caste, the Indian Christians constitute merely another caste. The feeling of isolation is also due to the folly of Indian Christians considering themselves a separate group both psychologically and in every-day life. The suspicion that has centred around the Indian Christian is also due to the fact that the foreign rulers in India are Christian.¹ But Britain did not conquer India because of Christianity. If the Indian Christians have looked towards the British for their pro-

¹ Read the constructive and statesmanlike suggestions made before the Cabinet Mission by the Indian Christian delegation on the 10th of April, 1946.

tection in social and religious matters, it is not entirely due to the fault of the Christians. It is also due to the atmosphere wherein a person cannot profess a religion without being afraid of someone else or without seeking the protection of others.

Their association and cooperation with the foreign missionary in the Christian enterprise in India have given the impression that they are the agents of foreign bodies who are generally accused of having no sympathy with the aspirations of India. The pacific nature of the Christian, and the fact that he belongs to a minority community, have been partially responsible for his silence, and the vocal attitude of those who thus accuse him. The accusation that the Christians are pro-British and anti-nationalistic is a generalisation which can be made against any social group in India. Their cooperation with missionary bodies which are considered to be bent upon converting Indians to Christianity is similar to the attempts that other organized religious bodies make towards the same end. If they have not been fully assimilated by the rest of India, the answer must be sought in other directions. We have already found that there are different groups in the Hindu society itself which have not been welded together just as all sections, in Islam have not been united together in a single political or religious organization. Just as all Americans do not think alike in all political or social matters, one section in the Indian Christian community may act quite differently from other sections.

Whatever cleavages there may be between Christians and non-Christians in India are not due to racial differences, but owing to social, economic, political and religious differences which, in their obstructive features, should be eliminated from the path of national regeneration. Indian Christians and Hindus can be members of the same nation as are the Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews in the U.S.A. In a Chinese family, one may be a Christian; another may be a Buddhist and a

third may be a free-thinker ; still, their loyalty to China may not be any the less. In the Soviet Union, people of many faiths live together in peace and cooperation. If organized religion is not a hindrance to national progress and solidarity, then, liberty of worship and conscience must be one of the fundamental rights of a citizen. There are many religious groups in Switzerland and Turkey. Just as people of different or no religious faith have elsewhere learned to live together under one common government and law, Indians of any religious faith can do likewise since their racial, linguistic and cultural affinities are great. The Indian Christians and the Non-Christians are more fundamentally related to each other than the Jew and the Baptist in the U.S.A. or the atheist Russian and the Muslim Turk in the U.S.S.R.

5. The Jews and the Parsees

There are about 24,141 Jews¹ in the whole of India, and they are largely confined to Bombay and a few West Coast towns. Mention has been made that the Jews, as far back in history as two thousand years ago, were a mixed race. The modern Jew, whether in Palestine, India or the U.S.A., is a most cosmopolitan individual except in sentiment. Some of the Indian Jews are refugees, and their presence is a drop in the ocean. So far, no one has ever heard of a Jewish problem in India. Their presence in India adds a variety rather than a diversity. Jews being a most enterprising people, intellectually alert and socially upright, will constitute an asset in the India that is yet to be.

The Parsee population of India is roughly 109,752.² They are also concentrated in the city of Bombay and Bombay Presidency, although one may see them in every important Indian city. Centuries ago, they migrated from Persia owing to religious persecution, and made India their home. They are perhaps the only people

¹ *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1935, 587 ff.

² *ibid.*

who have lived so long in India without losing their separate identity. No one can make a charge that they have been a disruptive force in the national life of India. It is indeed very significant that these people, in spite of their small number, have never demanded special protection or privileges for themselves. This 'microscopic minority, the Parsees of Western India, adapted to conditions, rose to wealth and influence "far, far in excess of their numbers"'.¹ Neither religion (and the Parsees are a very religious people), nor the hypothesis of a pure race (and the Parsees are a separate and distinct social group), has prevented these most enterprising people from participating in national affairs or playing a significant part in the task of nation-building. Some of the greatest industrialists, philanthropists and nation-builders have emerged from this group. Both in government service and in public life, they have made a place for themselves. They are today the example of what a group with a will to achieve can accomplish in the way of building a better and happier India.

6. The Europeans

In 1933, there were 135,000 Europeans in India including 60,000 British troops; of these 3,150 were engaged in superior services while many others were in other services.² The exact number of Europeans engaged in banking, commerce, industry, agriculture, journalism, religious work, etc., though not known, must be very small. Thus the European community, which from the point of view of numbers, would be a negligible entity in any country is a most potent factor in India. The assertion that these few people are a vital force in controlling the destiny of India is not exaggerated.

Of their racial stock and composition much has been already said. This is not the place to discuss their racial

¹ Dalal, *Whither Minorities*, 66.

² Indian Constitutional Reform (Session 1933-34), Vol. I, Part II, Report, 3.

purity or exclusiveness. But their presence in India, as a distinct social group, altogether different from the rest of India to a large measure, constitutes a baffling situation because of their social and psychological affinity with the rulers of the land. The problem presented by the European group has seriously handicapped the process of nation-building and national government. As members of the ruling class, they have expected and enjoyed special privileges in the services, in the administration of the country, in business and, in fact, in every important aspect of life that most vitally affects the political and economic progress of India.¹

In order to illustrate the position and influence of this most powerful minority group, let us for a moment investigate the situation in Bengal. Bengal has a population of 50,114,002.² The Muslims in Bengal being 54·8 per cent of the total population of the province, were entitled to 136 seats according to proportional representation; but they were assigned 125 seats out of a total of 250 in the Provincial Legislature. The Hindus being 44·8 per cent of the population were assigned only 80 seats even though they were entitled to 112 seats; but the 23,000 Europeans, who being less than one-twentieth of one per cent of the total population were entitled to none whatever, were given 25 seats. 'There is nothing in all India more monstrous than the block of 25 Europeans in the Legislature.'³ 'The system that insists on racial proportion in all the superior posts cannot but instil a false value among the British, not always justified by merit.'⁴ This representation far in excess of their numerical proportion is one instance of how a ruling class does always favour those who give their allegiance and support to the continuation of their regime.

¹ *The Indian Year Book*, 1934-35, 973; *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, t 11, 632

² Thompson, 83; that is, 50 for Caste Hindus and 50 for Scheduled
castes

⁴ *The Guardian*, Madras, Aug. 24, 1944, 2.

One of the most acute social problems in the life of India is to be seen in the social relations between the European and the Indian. This does not mean that intimate social contacts are entirely absent among the individuals of these groups. Instances of friendship between the Indian and the European can be multiplied but the fact remains that, barring individual friendships, a social stigma between these two groups persists. The members of the Indian Liberal Federation who are most cautious in their moves and speeches, unanimously passed the following resolution, in their annual session in Lahore, in March, 1945 : It (the Federation) is of the view that unless a determined effort is made on a world scale against the curse of race prejudice, the non-white peoples of the world, who are now fully conscious of their rights are bound to revolt against the tyranny of the whites and imperil the cause of world peace.¹

The confessions of some of the greatest British-Indian officials are most astounding. Lord Morley admitted, 'They all, nearly all admit that there is estrangement—I ought to say, perhaps, refrigeration—between officers and people.'² Morley had in mind the British officers in India, and he went on to confess that 'the root of the matter is racial and social and not political.'³ Sir Theodore Morison was much more outspoken when he declared, 'We have never aimed at the creation of a national sentiment in India, and with the best intentions have founded institutions which have a disintegrating tendency.'⁴ Time and time again, it had been noted that the 'former Anglo-Indian officials, who were drawing comfortable pensions in England from India, and functionaries high upon the pay-roll were united in the determination to preserve undimi-

¹ *Resolutions*, Indian Liberal Federation, Lahore Session, March, 1945.

² Morley, *Indian Speeches* (June 6, 1907), 20.

³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴ Morison, *Imperial Rule in India*, 7.

nished the places and power of British officials in India."¹ From the Viceroy and Secretary of State for India to the ordinary British soldier or civilian, there exists in the European, as most educated Indians are aware, a conscious or unconscious feeling of racial superiority. The highest British officials like Montagu-Chelmsford, Winterton, Morley and a host of others have repeatedly pointed out that the racial and social discrimination² has been a thorn in the flesh of British-Indian relations. 'If there are Indians who really desire to see India leave the Empire, to get rid of English officers and English commerce, we believe that among their springs of action will be found the bitterness of feeling . . . that an Englishman does not think an Indian equal.'³ Such sermons as these that Montagu-Chelmsford and Winterton preached, as many other distinguished Britishers before and since then have done, will bear no fruit till the master-servant relation changes. Admissions that 'it is the plain duty of every Englishman and woman, official and non-official, in India to avoid the offence and the blunder of discourtesy' will have no real effect until his status ceases to be that of a ruler, and he is permitted to remain only as a civil guest or law-abiding citizen of a free and sovereign India.

Political serfdom and economic dependence are largely responsible for the degrading social and consequently psychological maladjustment. If today, a large number of Indians enjoy a greater measure of social recognition in Britain than they do in India, it is because of their equal citizenship in Britain which does not obtain in India. It is the ruler-ruled relationship that is largely responsible for the unique position which Europeans enjoy in India and the position of inferiority which Indians suffer. Such a tendency will continue

¹ Gibbons, *The New Map of Asia*, 51.

² Montagu-Chelmsford *Report*, 8. 218 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 219.

to exist and such discriminations will continue to flourish as long as Indians, whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian are not mindful of their national solidarity and the achievement of a nation-state.

On the other hand, the presence of a handful of Europeans controlling the destinies of nearly 400,000,000 people should not be taken as a de-nationalizing force. It is a challenge to every thinking Indian who has any sense of self-respect. If an independent India is worth living for or dying for, then a whole nation of men cannot manfully put the blame on the Europeans who like 'the birds of passage and prey' come and go. In the national evolution of India, however, the existence of the European group is a factor to be reckoned with. As a powerful agency which causes national convulsions, this group occupies a place second to none. 'The greatest obstacle on the road to self-government, which has been approved in principle by the Parliament in London, is the actual English population of the colonies, especially the bureaucracy. These officials are accustomed to govern millions of coloured people autocratically and this is only possible where arrogance and rigorous differentiation draw a sharp line of division between the rulers and the ruled.'¹

7. The Sikhs, the Jains and the Buddhists

According to the census of 1931, there were 4,335,771 Sikhs, 1,252,105 Jains, and 12,786,806 Buddhists in the whole of India, Burma and Ceylon.² These are not organized on a racial basis. To a very great extent, caste rules do not bind them except in the case of the Jains. All of them except the Buddhists are drawn from the soil, and their organization along these three lines is primarily for religious purposes. Colour, physical features, and appearance do not distinguish

¹ Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East*, 97.

² *The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 587.

them from one another. They are predominantly of one culture and of one civilization. In all these respects, they are like the rest of the people of India. They are Indians who, for the sake of worship, have organized themselves into different religious groups and communities. Any political significance attaching to these groups is of recent development. They speak the language and observe the customs and courtesies of the common man. The Buddhists and Sikhs freely inter-marry with the Hindus, while the Jains are considered part of the Hindu society. The Jains hold conferences to consider caste interests, and are united by a caste association. One does not hear of Buddhist or Jain political parties; in fact, they vote with the Hindus, and are not represented in the Central or Provincial Legislatures as a minority community. Further, most of the Buddhists live in Burma. The Sikhs, in this respect, are different.

The Sikhs.—Finding a place in Indian society as an expression of the Bhakti movement and endeavouring to unite the Hindus and Muslims in common human brotherhood, this sect soon rose to political pre-eminence, partly because of persecution and self-protection and partly because of the love of political power, and the patronage and influence that go with it. They successfully defied the Mughal authority, and with lightning rapidity became the sovereigns of the Punjab, to be eventually conquered by the British East India Company. The Sikhs have distinguished themselves in many fields of activities including education, army, trade, agriculture and politics. In the politics of the Punjab in particular and in Indian politics generally, they have made an important place for themselves. Their enterprise takes them to many parts of the world. They are the first and only Indian group to migrate to America. They maintain many educational institutions and occupy a very high place in the life of the Punjab. As business men, traders, industrialists and trained workers, they are the equals of any. The contribution they have made to nation-making

is a very significant one, and there are many patriots among them noted for their industry, courage and integrity. They are not a separate race of people, but a group which is very much Indian.¹

Buddhists.—The religion of Gautama the Buddha, rising as a protestant movement against the Brahmin oligarchy with its emphasis on caste and sacrifice, proclaimed the message of fellow-feeling, love and service. Buddhism died in India where it failed to successfully press its belief in the equality of all humans against the forces of reaction that sponsored class domination. And the number of Buddhists in India is negligible. Their social position is most insignificant, and their political and economic importance is next to nothing. Due to their peace-loving nature, and their emphasis on things spiritual and moral, they have not exerted their individuality in the political field. Today, they merely stand as a monument to the antiquity of India, and a symbol of India's contribution to the religious life of mankind.

The Jains.—It was Jainism, long before the birth of Buddhism, that preached the sacredness of life and the sanctity of human personality in the plains of Northern India. Today, the Jains consider themselves as a separate caste, and methodically carry on the vocations of the Bannya community. As bankers and money lenders, as industrialists and educators, and as traders and business men, they enjoy an enviable position in the life of India. Many of them hold positions of distinction and honour in the public and private life of the country. In race, language, culture, and in appearance, they resemble their fellow-countrymen. The Jains, as a distinct social group, are never a social problem, but a grand and useful addition.

The question of race or racial affinity does not arise as these groups are as much Indian as any other, and more, especially by their outlook on life. The Muhammadans, the Sikhs, the Parsees and some Hindu castes

¹ The Sapru Committee, *Constitutional Proposals*, 66.

'are knit together by ties which resemble in some ways the ties of nationality.'¹ What P. B. N. Dar wrote fifty years ago is appropriately applicable to these different groups even today. 'Governed by a common sovereign, sharing common misfortunes, and striving for common ends, they have, growing up between them, a feeling of sympathy which has gone far to bind together hearts separated by considerations of race and creed and to identify their social and political interests.'² The Buddhists, the Sikhs and the Jains may differ among themselves in political ideologies, religious observances or social formalities, but racial considerations do not influence their belief or practice. These are very similar to the groups found in almost any country: the Baptists, the Quakers, the Episcopalians or the Seventh Day Adventists in the U.S.A. or Britain, or the Buddhists and Confucianists in China. They are essentially Indians whose beliefs and practices in religious and social matters may differ as sharply and widely as among the Protestants and the Roman Catholics in France or the Jews and the Greek Orthodox Christians in the U.S.S.R.

8. The Muslims

When discussing the racial question in India, it is necessary to make mention of the many invaders and conquerors among whom may be mentioned the Arabs, the Turks, the Mughals and the Afghans who were all Muslims. These Muslim invaders conquered and ruled the major part of this country for centuries. The present communal conflict between the Hindus and Muslims must not be mixed up with the question of race. These Muslim conquerors were dominated and swayed by economic and religious factors. They took within their fold people of all races, colour, nationalities and creeds.

¹ Morison, 3.

² Dar, 'Lord Dufferin and the Indian Congress: A Reply,' *Westminster Review*, cxxiii, (1890), 88.

They certainly were not communalists in the modern sense of the term. They were not respectors of race or colour. The cephalic index had no meaning to them. 'The touch of the vanished hand of the Muhammadan kings is still upon them, and thousands of men are still alive who can recollect the times when, even under Muhammadan despots, the lines of political differences between the Hindus and Muhammadans had ceased to exist, when the highest posts were open to merit, which recognized no colour and no creed.'¹

These Muslim invaders and conquerors and later on rulers resembled Eastern Europeans in appearance and features even though Mongoloid features were not altogether absent among the Mughals. Like the Europeans, these Muslim invaders were a thoroughly mixed group, owing their origin to more than one racial source. Scholars² are of the opinion that race consciousness was a negligible factor, both before and after they were converted to Islam. 'They seem to have had no racial aversions that would hinder inter-mixture, and no race pride that would prevent captives, in the course of time, from attaining full equality in any rank to which their abilities could carry them.'³ To attribute race snobbery to these groups would be an unwarranted historical error. Whatever racial origin the scholars may claim for them, they themselves were not conscious of it in the sense that the white population of South Africa is conscious of its white superiority towards the people of other races, and more especially of the tinted races. In both public and private conduct, they acted as if race did not matter one bit. When they entered India, many of them, never for a moment, entertained the idea of settling down for good. Their motives were varied and conflicting though in some respects they were of one ac-

¹ *Ibid.*, 84.

² Lybyer, *The Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent*, 10 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 12.

córd. Partly by necessity, but mostly by choice, they made India their home even as the Aryans did four thousand years before them.

They were drawn from Arabia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia, if not Mongolia. Under these circumstances, they could not have been of the same racial origin. During the last two thousand years, they intermingled without any sense of racial purity or identity. Central Asia was a veritable melting pot for a number of centuries. It is possible that racial strains from the Semitic, Mongolian and Caucasian elements played a vital part in their racial make up. The Macedonian imperialism, comprehending a large portion of the territory that these people occupied, might have generously contributed to the fusion of these people. The rise of the Roman power and the movement of armies up and down these regions making or breaking dynastic empires and kingdoms so radically revolutionized the racial structure, that it is now futile to speak of these groups as having any definite racial strains at all.

History has provided us with definite information about the origin of Muslim influence in India. In the face of such historical knowledge, to assume that the Muslims of India belong to a separate and distinct race, is to be blind to the events of the past and to confess one's utter ignorance of the composition of Islamic society. The mistaken notion that all the Muslims of India directly owe their origin to these different groups, and therefore, must be of a distinct and separate race, distorts history and logic. In the first instance, these different groups never for a moment claimed for themselves any purity of race, nor were they all of one and the same origin. Racially, they were anything but pure. Secondly, a large proportion of the present Muslim population of India are the children of the original converts to Islam. The uneducated masses led by a poli-

tical opportunist may believe in a pure race, but a widespread belief in such a theory by the so-called intellectuals and leaders of the people, and the assertion of the existence of race-purity by scholars baffle comprehension.¹ In an age of travel, knowledge and enlightenment, the Joint Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons consisting of experts made an observation regarding the racial composition of the Indian people which is at once malignant and false. 'The difference between the two (Hindus and Muslims) is not only one of religion in the stricter sense, but also of race.'²

Religious differences between the Hindus and the Muslims are obvious and unquestioned. Such differences are not unknown in the history of the nations. The Turks and Greeks in the Ottoman Empire and the Roman Catholics and Protestants in the Holy Roman Empire may be cited as outstanding examples. But religious differences are not racial differences. It is a fact that an overwhelming majority of the Muslims were drawn from the rank and file of Hindu society. They and their forefathers were converts to Islam. In other words their ancestors were Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Christians and others and as such had been rooted in the Indian soil for hundreds of years before Islam stopped penetrating into India. They were converted to Islam irrespective of caste, colour or race, and were drawn from every section of the country. To eradicate certain preconceived notions, it is not out of place to point out again that, just as the names William, Clive, Richards, John, Robert, Edward, George and Alfred among the Indian Christians do not necessarily point to a foreign ancestry or indicate European or American parentage, the names of the Indian Muslims do not always imply that their forefathers were foreigners. Biblical and Isla-

¹ El Hamza, *Pakistan a Nation*, 84, 86.

Morison, *Political India*, 103-104.

Indian Const. Reform (Session 1933-34), Vol. I, Part II, *Proceedings*, 47-Strachey, *India: Its Administration and Progress*, 5.

² *Proceedings*, op. cit., 47.

mic names are common in any Christian or Muslim society respectively. Names can be assumed, and nothing can prevent any one from calling himself Sultan Ahmad, Robert Clive, William Shakespeare, Ismail Mirza or Maharaj Chaudry. There is nothing in a name. Names, as was pointed out, are a convenience, and could be a misnomer.

This does not deny the fact that the Muslim invaders, conquerors and rulers did leave a biological stamp on some of the Muslims of India. Out of the entire Muslim population of India,¹ not more than fifteen per cent. can be proved to have any claims of descent from non-Indian ancestry. Mazhar-ul-Haq, President of the All-India Muslim League, declared in his presidential address in December, 1915, that of the whole Muslim population, 'those who have claimed their descent from remote non-Indian ancestors amount only to eight millions. Whence have the remaining millions come, if not from the Indian ranks?'² When it is remembered that these rulers did not import Muslim women from abroad either for themselves or for other Muslims; that the Muslim emperors and kings were born of Hindu princesses, and Hindu women were wives of Muslim rulers and aristocrats let alone the harem which must have included a wide variety of castes, colours, communities and religions; and that an eminent man like the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal was of comparatively recent Hindu ancestry; the question of Muslims belonging to a separate and distinct race does not arise. Gandhi, in his inimitable way, wrote to Jinnah, 'The more our argument progresses, the more alarming your picture appears to me. It would be alluring if it were true. But my fear is growing that it is wholly unreal. I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock. If India was one nation before the advent of Islam, it must

¹ *Statesman's Year Book, 1935.* 125

² Lajpat Rai, *Young India*, 54.

remain one in spite of the change of faith of a very large body of her children. You do not claim to be a separate nation by right of conquest but by reason of acceptance of Islam. Will the two nations become one if the whole of India accepted Islam?'¹ Thus, the mixture of blood among the Muslims, Hindus and others was one of the most characteristic aspects of the Muslim period of Indian history. The Muslims of India are neither a pure race nor a separate race. Racially, they belong to the same stock as do other Indians.

9. Social and Cultural Homogeneity

Tagore struck a true note when he sang—

'Down the war current, in victorious glee °
 .. Of wild uproar,
 Breaking through desert, hill and mountain
 All who rushed in,
 They all in me live and move—
 No, none at all are apart;
 In my blood plays a rich harmony
 Of many meeting tunes.'

Racial similarity or dissimilarity cannot be a barrier to Indian nationhood. Anything else may stand in India's way, but not race or racial differences. On the other hand, according to a Western observer, the people of India 'stand high in stature, proportion, power, dignity, and delicacy'.² Colour, beauty and physical features are not confined to any one area, caste, creed, or class. There is a reasonable amount of racial uniformity and cultural homogeneity throughout the length and breadth of the country. Millions of people enjoy a sense of social solidarity through a belief in a common origin and destiny: the joint family system gives the people a sense of security; the caste system emphasises the corporate spirit; religion, whether Hinduism or Islam unites people in worship and fellowship; and the Indian culture is

¹ *Jinnah-Gandhi Talks*, 15 ff.

² Archer, *India and the Future*, 24-25.

all pervasive and unifying. In comparison with the rest of the world, 'the people of India stand high among the races of the world'.¹ Similarities of characteristics which make for social homogeneity dominate the social and national life. 'All Indians have been Indian, and as such, definitely related to each other and distinguished from the rest of the world, for a much longer time than Englishmen have been English, Frenchmen French or Germans German'.² Therefore, they can live together in a social, economic and political organization.

The social history of man has been of a most revolutionary character. It took millions of years before this earth was ready for the habitation of any living creature including plants. Man was preceded by plants, insects, fish, reptiles, birds and mammals. And these must have existed for millions of years before man emerged. 'Peoples without History' had inhabited this planet for countless number of years before the dawn of conscience or social consciousness in man. The art of history writing is only a few thousand years old compared with the unwritten history of man.³ One of the most fascinating phases of history is the study of man as he began to think and act, and conserve for himself and his fellowmen the knowledge he thus acquired. It took thousands of years for him to learn to domesticate animals, use metals, make rugs and clothes, cultivate fields, cure diseases, barter products, contemplate the mysterious, and sing.⁴ We do not know when or where man first appeared in the world or in what we now call India. He was, for thousands of years, even as he is today, a restless wandering animal with no barriers to hold him. Rivers, mountains, oceans and deserts never stood in his way. 'The forces of nature such as cold, heat, wind, rain and disease could not prevent his journey over trackless waters or pathless forests.'⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 26

² *Ibid.*

³ Walker, *An Outline of Man's History*, 2 ff.

⁴ Myres, *The Dawn of History*, 13 ff.

⁵ Kummer, *The First Days of Knowledge*, 17 ff.

⁶ Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, 26 ff.

Take a group like the Indo-Europeans. They 'emerge from the obscurity of antiquity as independent nations, scattered from the arctic circle to the equator and from the Atlantic ocean to the Bay of Bengal, more or less firmly established in their seats, with different languages, customs, religions and even complexions, and for the most part quite unconscious of their kinship.'¹ The cephalic index is dependent upon many causes, and even in the Neolithic graves of Europe, long and short skulls are common.² Philology, ethnology, archeology and anthropology do not positively lead us to the place where man first appeared, nor do we possess detailed data as to how man arose to his present position from being once a savage, a restless wanderer, an uncivilized barbarian and a tribal brute.³

The history of India before 5000 B.C. is practically unknown, and her history since then can supply us with only limited information till we come to relatively recent times. The Dravidians who were a highly civilized people even as early as 5000 B.C. must have had savage ancestors thousands of years back. The history of India for the last seven thousand years, as her unrecorded history before, had moulded the racial composition of the people so thoroughly and indistinguishably that any theory of race purity will hardly bear scrutiny. The presence of a pure race identical with a religion or caste is a myth. The history of India is a story of racial and social fusion. The sentiment of social exclusiveness, if any, is born out of ignorance and irrationality. No nation on earth represents a pure race, least of all India.

This, however, does not prevent a nation from enjoying cultural or social homogeneity. An average Indian has a much longer and deeper national background than any member of a European or American nation. Gilchrist, who had argued against the formation of an

¹ Bender, *The Home of the Indo-Europeans*, 5.

² *Ibid.*, 40.

³ *Ibid.*, 43 ff.

Indian nation-state on the ground that India did not possess racial identity, has contradicted¹ himself on the need for racial uniformity for the achievement of nationhood when he wrote, 'Everything went to show that unity of India was at last being realized. A common medium of speech had been given in the English language; a basis of common rights had been secured; common interests were being realized; a common organization knit India together: in short, in spite of the vast differences of race, language, religion and social customs among the Indian people, the foundations of an Indian nationality had been laid.'²

Nationhood cuts across the barriers of colour and race. In India, the racial dissimilarity is not a stumbling block, and the racial uniformity and unity a great asset in the building of a nation. The official statement, that India 'is inhabited by many races and tribes, speaking over two hundred different languages and dialects, and often as distinct from one another in religion, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe,' reveals a colossal ignorance on the part of the Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the House of Lords regarding the racial make-up of both Europe and India.³ Any attempt at an evaluation of the evolution of the races of mankind would undoubtedly reveal that the sentiment of race can exist in any nation without that nation being racially pure or distinct. That sentiment does exist in India in one form or another. The nationalist movement, whether cultural, political, religious or economic, mobilises it and gives it the greatest possible momentum and significance at the present period of Indian History. 'The people of India today have to remember always the clear fact that the country belongs to more races than one and her history has been built up of tributes from many civilizations. The children of her soil are Aborigines, Dravidians, Aryans, Scythians,

¹ Gilchrist, *Indian Nationality*, 61.

² Gilchrist, *Principles of Political Science*, 603.

³ Indian Const. Reform (Session 1933-34), Vol. I, Part II, *Proceedings*, 47.

Zoroastrians, Muhammadans and others. In the temple of her great tradition is chanted a magnificent chorus of all ancient and modern melodies of cults and cultures. Her God is the God of humanity.¹

Any contention that the people of India have not achieved a thoroughgoing racial homogeneity can be met by the fact that inter-breeding was going on before the dawn of Indian history, and still continues. India can inter-breed, and there is nothing that can prevent the process of inter-crossing, and any law or social tradition against it fights a losing battle. Ethnologists have despaired of placing Indians into hard and fast racial groups or categories. They are all so merged and fused into one another that 'racial purity' or the presence of distinct races is an exploded myth used only to justify economic and political aggression.



Finally, there is no inherent difference between man and man, much less between Indian and Indian, to act as a barrier to the formation of a nation-state. Differences of colour, features, hair-texture and so on are indeed pleasing varieties which have no political significance.

¹ Chakrabarti, *Cultural Fellowship in India*, 32.

to a sane man. Such differences as are seized on to justify group irrationality are mainly those produced by culture and environment and are not inherent in the individual. Racial superiority or inferiority is one of the most ugly examples of our social maladjustment. In our existing social and mental confusion racial sentiment is used to turn man against his brother.¹

Frotter, W., *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, 114 ff.

CHAPTER V

THE HERITAGE OF 1858



1. One Government for the Whole of India

1858 is a most significant year in the history of India. It marks the end of an era and the beginning of another. In that year, all political aspirations of the Indian ruling houses came to an end. The Mughal power vanished like a ghost as also the Hindu power. The Sikhs and the tribes of the North West Frontier were eventually reconciled to the victors of 1858. What was not achieved in the Hindu or Muslim period, namely the political unity of India, was an accomplished fact under the British Raj. The assumption that the whole of India could be one vast political unit under the same administration and government was proved beyond a shadow of doubt. Seventy-five years after the Mutiny, the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform declared, 'A strong Central Government, without a rival to challenge its authority, has transformed British India into a single unitary state. A sense of political unity has been thereby created and there have emerged the beginnings of a sense of nationality, transcending, as it would seem, the profound divisions of race, languages and religion, and based upon the con-

ception of India as the common heritage of all her people.¹ Thus, the Mutiny ushered in a new era in Indian history. The most significant fact of 1858 was that Britain became the paramount power over the whole of India.²

For the first time after the conquest of India, the British bureaucracy in particular and all those who were connected with the ruling class in general, realized that a strong Central Government whose authority could be felt in the remotest corners of India was an utter necessity. The ruling class in India was fast becoming conscious of its place and power. Party politics in England did not seriously alter the policy of a 'strong hand' in Indian affairs. The British Parliament, from now on, became the supreme and sovereign authority in matters of government and administration. It assumed entire responsibility to legislate on all important matters concerning India. But it has been an open secret that Parliament almost always acted on the advice of the 'India House'³ which, even as Parliament itself, was located at a distance of 8,000 miles⁴ from India.

The Governor-General in Council (from now on the Viceroy), though appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Prime Minister, was practically supreme over finance, industry, foreign affairs, war, peace, law and order. He was directly or indirectly in control of economic, political, civil, military, educational and judicial matters connected with India. Legally, he was obliged to pay 'due obedience' to the Secretary of State in Council for India.⁵

The Secretary of State, in turn, was responsible to

¹ 'Joint Committee on Indian Const. Reform,' I, Part II, *Proceedings*, p. 4

² Muir, 'The Government of India Act, 1858', *The Making of British India*, 384 ff

³ Mukherji, *Indian Const. Documents*, I, 135

⁴ Before the Suez Canal was opened, the distance around the Cape was 11,000 miles

⁵ Ilbert, *The Government of India Being a Digest of the Statute Law*,

the Cabinet and Parliament.¹ The members of his Council, fifteen in number, of whom seven were appointed by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and the rest by the Crown, exerted a great influence over official decisions concerning India. They and the Secretary of State for India were paid from the revenues of India. In fact, the 'India House' in London was maintained at India's expense.² There was no Indian on either Council. The members of this Council, with a few exceptions, must have resided or served in India for a period of at least ten years.³ On good behaviour they could hold their positions for seven years with the possibility of an addition of five more years. Thus, the Council was largely made up of the veterans from India. They had a profound loyalty to the interests of the Honourable East India Company which they once served most devotedly. Naturally, the Council was a capitalistic and power-seeking body which was at once reactionary and conservative.

In India, on the other hand, all the servants of the East India Company, from the highest to the lowest, were confirmed in their respective positions by the Crown. The harmony and co-operation between the Council of India in England and the official bureaucracy in India, on all matters of vital importance, amounted to perfection. The Secretary of State for India, though a member of the Cabinet, and appointed by the Crown from among the members of the majority party in Parliament, was not only influenced by his Council but also by the Governor-General in Council who, it was asserted, knew more about India than any other person or body of persons in the entire world.⁴ The Secretary of State himself was the handmaid of a party which did not dare risk its life on a British-Indian issue.⁵ In fact, no general election was ever fought on the question of India.

¹ Mukherji, *op. cit.*, 135 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 136.

³ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 138., Brailsford, *Rebel India*, 86.

⁵ Nevinson, *The New Spirit in India*, 299. 'The English in India', *Westminster Review*, lxi., 202 (1858).

It was evident that there were no differences among the British parties on any fundamental issue regarding India. The source of information to the Secretary of State and Parliament was mainly through official channels.¹ The Viceroy of India and the members of his Council were considered to be the most authoritative persons concerning Indian conditions. As Parliament always acted directly on the advice of the Secretary of State for India² and indirectly of the Government of India the ignorance and the pre-conceived notions of the members of Parliament regarding the needs and problems of India were colossal.³

2.^o British Interest in India

During these days, the British constituencies cared little and knew nothing about the plight of the countless millions.⁴ But to the interested parties, 'the financial value of India is not less real than its commercial worth. In dispensing its revenue of twenty-seven millions, we provide employment to a large number of our (British) countrymen, and thus add to the general wealth of the nation. No fewer than 10,000 British officers, of the higher grade, are to be numbered in the civil and military service of the Government, whose income range from £200 to £25,000 a year. All these are well-born and educated men, of the middle classes, who find an honourable provision out of the resources of India. The total sum they draw yearly cannot be less than six or seven million sterling. We have not included the common European soldiers, of whom there were 30,000 before the Mutiny, and there will be in the future at least 70,000 to 80,000. All these are maintained out of the Indian Treasury. Again, there are the pensions granted to retired officers, officers' widows and children, in

¹ *Moral and Material Progress of India*, published by the Government of India and continued as 'India in 1927' and so on.

² Mukherji, *op. cit.*, II, 142, 145

³ Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd series, xix (1833), Col. 538.

the two services, which are contributed by India and expended in England. . . . This is a magnificent subsidy for one country to pay another.¹

Thus, India was looked upon as a fat cow and a rich harvest field. Primarily, India was to be a field for exploitation, and the country afforded unusual opportunities for power, position, profit and prestige. Apart from these factors, the subject of India did not greatly interest the common people of Britain except those who were missionary minded. The little that the public knew about India was based on the current stories floating over the country. When the returned missionaries, soldiers, or civilians occasionally told the public or their own friends about the distant country with her teeming millions, forests, tigers, snakes, idolatry, wealth, poverty and ignorance, they had a ready audience.² Neither the public nor the ruling classes were ever seriously concerned with the moral and material progress and advancement of India. In this connection, the declaration of Henry Fawcett eighty years ago was literally true. 'The most trumpery question ever brought before Parliament, a wrangle over the purchase of a picture, excited more interest than the welfare of one hundred and eighty millions of our Indian fellow subjects. The people of India have no votes, they cannot bring even so much pressure to bear upon Parliament as can be wrought by one of our Railway Companies; but with some confidence I believe that I shall not be misinterpreting your wishes if, as your representative, I do whatever can be done by one humble individual to render justice to the defenceless and powerless.'³

In Britain, there was also a sense of trusteeship and mission both among the common people and the aristocracy.⁴ People in high places spoke of British prestige and supremacy.⁵ The more practical among them

¹ 'The English in India,' *loc cit*, 202.

² 'Sepoy Rebellion.' *The London Quarterly Review*, (Oct. 1857), 28 ff.

³ Muzumdar, *Indian National Evolution*, 14.

⁴ 'The English in India,' *loc cit*, 203.

⁵ *Ibid*, 202.

looked upon India as a market for raw materials and finished products ; a place which afforded extraordinary opportunities for an official career with fat salaries and enviable pensions ; and a land well suited for the investment of British capital. India being a most valuable possession equal in size to Europe without Russia, with a purchasing power exceeding the major nations of Europe, was considered an outlet for the industrial and financial enterprise of British traders and bankers.¹ Of all the sections of the British population, the bureaucracy in India and all those who had vested interests in this sub-continent were most conscious of these facts.² With the Indian press utterly gagged,³ Indian opinion of all shades driven underground, and the Indian political initiative completely frustrated, these vested interests of Britain, with a powerful press, a devoted bureaucracy, and an authority and power that wealth alone could create, were the most powerful factors that moulded public opinion in England and India and actually dictated the policy of the Government of India.⁴

Lord Samuel Ripon was the first Viceroy who attempted to deviate from the general attitude of his countrymen. Ripon's effort to bring about equality and goodwill between the rulers and the ruled by allowing Indian magistrates to try Europeans ended in nothingness. The Ilbert Bill incident revealed the most influential position the ruling class occupied and the helplessness of the Indian masses. Ripon was easily the most popular British official among Indians of all grades, but he was most bitterly hated by his countrymen. 'Ripon believed in it (The Ilbert Bill) in principle. He resigned after he ceased to be able to promote or punish any man ; the whole of India pros-

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, 203.

³ Naoroji, *Poverty and un-British Rule in India* 216 ; Mead, *The Sepoy Revolt*, 190.

⁴ 'The Indian National Congress', *The Modern Review* (Jan. 1936), 80 ; Garratt, *An Indian Commentary*, 116-17 ; DeMello, *The Indian National Congress*, 14-15 ; Mitra, *Anglo-Indian Studies*, 382 ; Lajpat Rai, *Young India*, 118 ff.

trated itself at his feet. His journey from Simla to Bombay was a triumphal march, such as India had never witnessed—a long procession, in which seventy millions of people sang hosanna to their friend. Lord Ripon had done nothing, had taken off no tax, had removed no burden, had not altered the mode of government one hair's breadth. He was only supposed to be for the Indians and against the Europeans.¹ In the opinion of an English historian, 'The reform was almost as much disliked by the rank and file of the Civil Service as by the non-official European residents in India. The Viceroy was subjected to something very like insult, and practically all intercourse ceased between him and those of his countrymen who were unconnected with the Government. In the end the authorities were forced to bow before the storm.'²

If, by chance, a Viceroy or Secretary of State for India was favourably inclined towards the Indian people, he could give reality to his inclinations only at the risk of his life, office or prestige.³ With a distant Parliament legislating for India on all important matters on the advice of the Secretary of State in Council, a bureaucracy headed by the Governor-General in Council, bent tooth and nail on ruling India on behalf of the vested interests, and a powerful British population both in England and India, always ready to bring pressure both on the 'India House' and the Government of India, the 'strong hand' was never relaxed and a liberal policy towards India was not in sight.⁴ The outlook for Indian self-determination was gloomy. Then, no one ever had an inkling of Pakistan and an independent Hindustan—even the very idea did not exist in any form. Dravidistan, Sikhistan, Pakistan and Hindustan alike had to realize that their sun had set, perhaps once and for all, and

¹ Townsend, 'Will England Retain India?', *Contemporary Review*, liii, (1888), 799.

² Roberts, *History of British India*, 470.

³ Singh, *Landmarks in Indian Constitutional and National Development*, 146 ff.; Cotton, *New India*, 3 ff., 127-128.

⁴ Cotton, 84.

that there was no hope left on the horizon to dream of any political freedom. There was hardly any such thing as an Indian opinion, much less a nationalist Indian opinion. Indians were little better than dumb driven cattle. India knew of no Hindu or Muslim public opinion.

3. The Loyalty of Panjab in 1858

This year, 1858, marked the end of all political initiative on the part of the native princes and chiefs. Muslim, Hindu, Sikh and Rajput princes were equally under the control and direction of the paramount power. Their loyalty and the loyalty of their subjects to the new regime was beyond all dispute.¹ 'The conquest of India within its own natural frontiers was now over. The status of the protected princes was settled and defined. They had rendered valuable services in the Mutiny and were described by Canning as "breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave." To preserve them as bulwarks of the empire has been ever since a main principle of British policy.'²

The Sikhs of the Panjab who were masters of the land of the five rivers for a considerable period of time, were defeated and subjugated in 1848-1849, and the British regime did not meet with any great menace anywhere in India until the Mutiny. In the beginning of the Mutiny, the attitude of the Panjab was uncertain. It cannot be denied that a considerable number of Muslims and Sikhs were waiting for an opportunity to regain their lost political power, but they were systematically disarmed. 'There was comfort, too, in the remembrance that the Panjab had been disarmed; that the warlike population of the conquered country no longer went about with swords at their sides, or had firelocks stored in the houses.'³

¹ Mead, 202-200.

² Roberts, 388.

³ Kaye and Malletson, *History of the Indian Mutiny*, II, 316.

When it came to a decision, the Sikhs, a martial class of India, gave their allegiance to their conquerors during and after the Mutiny.¹ The Panjab was loyal. It was Sir John Lawrence who wrote, 'Under the mercy of God the loyalty and the contentment of the people of the Panjab has saved India. Had the Panjab gone, we must have been ruined.'² This new loyalty was largely due to the fact that they were disarmed and they were obliged to lend money to the Government through the device of forced loans; and they realized that they would be forfeiting their money if they rebelled.³ It is really amazing how the Sikhs who were defeated and humiliated at the hands of the English only a few years before the Mutiny now joined hands with their conquerors to fight the Hindus and Muhammadans. As late as 1848 the Sikh hatred of the Muslim had melted like snow before the common enemy, the English. Then, 'the whole Sikh nation was up in arms and had combined with their hereditary enemies the Afghans in an alliance for our destruction.'⁴ 'The Sikh and the Muhammadan had combined in an unnatural alliance and laid aside their national animosities in the common hatred of the English name.'⁵

But things were different during and after the Mutiny. The traditional hatred felt by the Sikh for the Muslim and an opportunity to revenge the wrongs perpetrated by the Muslim rulers swept the imagination of the Sikhs. 'They were told and they believed that, in crushing the Muhammadan power, they were revenging themselves on the slayers of Guru Tegh Bahadur, the oppressors of Guru Gobind Singh and the murderers of his sons.'⁶ Diplomacy suddenly invented a statement which was attributed to Guru Tegh Bahadur, and which

¹ Lajpat Rai, 102.

² Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, II, 335.

³ Basu, *The Rise of the Christian Power in India*, 957; Aitchison, *Lord Lawrence*, 81.

⁴ Aitchison, 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 77-78.

⁶ Lajpat Rai, 102.

was in wide circulation among the Sikhs during the Mutiny working them up to fever heat. 'Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy queen's. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy hangings (purdas) and destroy thy empire.'¹ Added to these factors were the financial gains both from plunder and appointments in the army. This move on the part of the Sikhs greatly surprised even the uneducated rural population of the Panjab. Some people went to the extent of openly insulting a Sikh battalion.² 'Thus was the Panjab aiding in many ways the great work of the recovery of Delhi and the suppression of the revolt. It was sending down material, and it was sending down masses of men. . . . And it was from the Panjab that now was to be drawn that wealth of individual energy upon which the destinies of nations so greatly depend.'³ When the political ambition of the Hindu and Muslim dynasties ended in nothingness and ruin by the events of 1858, the Sikhs who contributed in no mean degree to the results of the Mutiny, ultimately fared no better.

4. The Middle Class in Hindustan

In 1858, the lightning changes in the political field affected the middle class as it never did the masses. The rebellious sepoys were either annihilated or driven underground. Most of these sepoys belonged to the middle class. The revenge on the middle class is one of the blackest chapters in Indian history. 'Townsmen were slaughtered wholesale at Cawnpore and later at Lucknow and Delhi. "At the time of the capture of Lucknow,—a season of indiscriminate massacre—such distinction was not made, and the unfortunate who fell into the hands of our troops was made short work of—

¹ Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, 454.

² *The Cambridge History of India*, vi, 180.

³ Kaye and Malleeson, II, 384.

Sepoy or Oudh villager, it mattered not,—no questions were asked; his skin was black, and did not that suffice? A piece of rope, and the branch of a tree, or a rifle bullet through his brain soon terminated the poor devil's existence."¹ The middle class in the various centres of the Mutiny suffered similar consequences. 'It would be wiser to use a medical simile, and consider it (Mutiny) as the primary symptoms of a deep-seated disorder—the reaction of India against the too rapid introduction of Western ideas and the limited scope left for the Muslim and Hindu upper classes.'² In order to crush the upper and the middle class, the policy of strengthening the British army in India was pursued. The years following the Mutiny saw a decline in the strength of the Indian army and the increase of only those Indian elements that proved helpful during the Mutiny—the Sikhs and Gurkhas.³ But no Indian was allowed to hold a commission in the army.⁴

The Charter Act of 1833 and other Parliamentary enactments to allow Indians to hold positions of importance in the Government of India became a dead letter. The Covenanted Civil Service was an exclusive monopoly of the ruling class, and few Indians found their way to these coveted posts.⁵ The highest positions nominally opened to all Indians were reserved for the young recruits from Britain, and no Indian ever became the governor of a province until after the first world war.⁶ Most educated Indians were the first group to feel this discrimination that, in spite of their education, there was no equality of opportunity in Government service. This feeling of inferiority partly resulted in the loss of their full initiative. Many of them

¹ Thompson and Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of the British Rule in India*, 454.

² *Ibid.*, 461.

³ 'The English in India,' *loc. cit.*, 202.

⁴ 'Admission of Natives to the Civil Service of India.' (East India), *Parliamentary Papers* (C. 2376), (1879), lv, 12.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1-13.

⁶ Thompson, *The Reconstruction of India*, 53-54.

were only very happy to secure minor 'jobs' in any of the departments of Government, and from now on, the number of petty Indian officials slowly increased. Those educated Indians who met with bitter experiences in securing offices and positions were the first to harbour hatred for the British Government. As a defence mechanism, there came about a feeling of self-respect and in some cases a feeling of superiority. 'The growing national desire for self-respect drove the educated classes to find some explanation for such incapacity. This led ultimately to a worship of the past, a "back to the Vedas" movement, and the complaint, now grown tiresome from constant repetition, that the "nation" had been "emasculated" during the British occupation.'

The unrest among the educated classes was one of the most potent causes for the rise of the Indian nationalist movement. They realized that their 'qualification' for a high office was a meaningless nothing in the face of tremendous handicaps. As intelligent men, they observed that an 'English boy' without their training and knowledge of the country and its people had a better chance for a career in India than they themselves had. Slowly, the difference between the ruling class and the ruled became evident. In the beginning, this sense of injustice found no expression either in writing or rebellion. Naturally, the process of emasculation and disintegration was making cowards out of men.² It was a sense of utter helplessness coupled with the nineteenth century European idea that political gains were tantamount to the attainment of moral, intellectual and economic perfection that eventually led the Indian nationalists in the trail of constitutionalism.³

Empires changed hands in the course of a few hours and dynasties fell one after another like a deck of cards, but the masses were not greatly affected by these convulsions. Poverty and wretchedness were their lot.

¹ Thompson and Garratt, 463.

² Lajpat Rai, 80 ff.

Their suffering without a word or murmur has been one of the most pathetic chapters in human history. It mattered very little to them, in the last analysis, whether the Afghan ruled, or the Hindu ruled, or the British ruled. Power changed hands but not their poverty.¹ Hindu masses in this respect fared no better than the Muslim masses. Their indifference to day-to-day political events was largely due to the fact that politics did not better their lot and that it ignored their interests completely. They were subjected to the same privation after the Mutiny as before, and in some respects their condition became worse under the legalised landlordism. In 1858 and the years following, the Hindu and Muslim masses did not lift a finger to help either the upper class or the educated middle class. They remained in an indifferent mood until Gandhi took politics to the doors of the suffering masses and awakened them to an era of self-respect and self-determination.

The educated Indians who came face to face with the Government of India were dumbfounded by the nature and intricacy of the entire governmental set up, with power, both nominally and really, vested not only in one individual or a body of individuals, but also in abstract laws, statutes, councils, parliaments, parties, treaties and systems which seemed remote and complicated.² 'The Government of India is an amazingly complex and dual form of administration.'³

Slowly, the educated classes summoned enough courage to point out a few social and economic grievances and ask for remedies. The most tangible way they could judge the goodness of the Government was mostly in terms of awards of offices and positions to Indians and of the extent to which equality of treatment was meted out. When the hopes and aspirations of many educated Indians were not fully realized, they became critical of

¹ Naoroji, 386 ff.; Digby, *Prosperous British India: A Revelation from Official Records*, p. 1.

² Ilbert, 170, 213.

³ Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, 13 July, 1917, xxv, 1027 ff.

the administration. Usually, the most talkative among them were awarded positions of importance in the administration of the country. The uncompromising ones among them were jailed, hanged or transported for life. Those who were able to secure government posts and whose livelihood depended on the maintenance of the *status quo* eventually became the pillars of imperialism. They were the 'loyal subjects' of Her Majesty. Those who were unable to secure places for themselves in the administration of the country eventually became 'anti-British' and they denounced the office-bearers as 'pro-British'.¹

It has been already pointed out that Parliament, the India House, the bureaucratic Government of India, the British residents in India, and the Britishers connected with India officially or, unofficially, with their power, press, authority and wealth were totally blind to the needs of the 'voiceless millions' of India. Added to these forces were now a class of Indian office-holders and title-seekers whose livelihood depended on the Government, and therefore, their unflinching support to the new administration has had a most demoralising effect on the future of the country. Even those who called the new regime 'un-British'² in character took it for granted that the British rule had come to stay and that as British subjects they should have equality of opportunity even as the British subjects in Britain did. They did not worry, about political freedom, but they were very sensitive to economic and social injustice. The common people being altogether out of consideration, these critics of the British rule let go their energy along constitutional channels. The constitutional demand was more or less a selfish one in so far that it could only benefit them and their kind by providing them with office, position, power, authority and prestige. The bitter experiences they encountered even in the struggle for a constitutional

¹ *Parliamentary Papers*, lv, (C. 2376), 5; *Condition of India*, 34 ff.

² Dadabhai Naoroji was perhaps the first Indian to use this term. He was the second President of the Indian National Congress.

government fortunately provided a basis for the rise of Indian national consciousness. Gradually, they began to speak of the despotic way in which India was ruled and of its ruinous consequences to India !

5. The General Conditions

The capital fact of 1858 was the complete subjugation of India. Every section of India except Nepal, and the entire population of India except the Gurkhas, were brought under British control. The princes became puppets and 'breakwaters'. The rebellious element and those who were suspected of disaffection were altogether eliminated. The educated classes were either bought with offices and positions or completely pushed to the background. The dynastic ambition of the Hindu and Muslim ruling houses vanished like a dream. The Panjab remained 'loyal'. The 'dumb millions' remained voiceless as ever.

The new administration was making itself felt. Not only defence, but almost all the activities of the Government from finance, revenue, agriculture, foreign relations, police, law and order to commerce, industry, trade and education also were entirely in the hands of the new rulers. In 1878, there were only 9 Indians in the Covenanted Civil Service in the whole of India.¹ The Criminal Investigation Department made open disaffection impossible. The administrative and political unity of India was established beyond all dispute. India was now one vast state-system. The administration welded India into a well-defined political unit.

The Muslim sentiments were alienated from the time of the introduction of English as the official language in 1835. This eliminated Persian as the Court language. They also suffered the heaviest and the most cruel penalty during and after the Mutiny, and left the political field severely alone until the Indian National Congress and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan showed a way out.

¹ 'Admissions of Natives to the Civil Service of India,' *loc. cit.*, 13.

The Hindu political ambition was crushed beyond recognition. Except for a few religious reformers who preached the 'Hindu superiority' and championed the Hindu culture, there was hardly any social, much less national, consciousness in India. But the social and religious movements of the nineteenth century kept alive the flame of cultural self-respect after the loss of political and economic power. Swami Vivekananda was one of those who preached the superiority of Hinduism. Of Swami Vivekananda, Farquhar wrote, 'He is ready to rewrite the whole history of antiquity in a paragraph, to demonstrate in a sentence that China in the East, and Greece and Rome in the West, owed all their philosophical acumen and every spiritual thought they had, to the teachers of Ancient India.'

There was only one ray of hope. From time to time, British politicians like Fox, Burke, Cobden and Sheridan had severely and mercilessly condemned the administration of India by the East India Company. Their work was ably followed by Bright and Fawcett. It was John Bright who declared that the history of Great Britain in India prior to 1862 was 'a hundred years of crime against the docile natives of our Indian empire.'² Henry Fawcett asked in the House of Commons, 'How could the Secretary of State for India reconcile it to himself to tax the people of India for an entertainment to the Sultan and the Viceroy? . . . Why should the poor toiling peasant be called upon to pay for it?'³ Fawcett later called it a 'masterpiece of meanness'.⁴ Statements such as these and the writings and speeches of many British politicians stirred the thinking India to its deepest depths. Whenever they championed the cause of India, the educated Indians lost no time in quoting relevant passages from these speeches and writings to give vent to their national feeling. Statements

¹ Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, 204.

² Roberts, 388.

³ Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, clxxxviii (3rd Series), Col. 1624.

⁴ Stephen, *Life of Henry Fawcett*, 344.

praising the Indian culture and character greatly strengthened the feeling of national self-respect. Max Müller's oft-quoted statement regarding Indian conduct did no mean service to the cause of Indian prestige. Max Müller, the great oriental scholar, declared, 'I have watched them (Indians) carrying on such controversies both among themselves and with certain European scholars, and I feel bound to say that, with hardly one exception they have displayed a far greater respect for truth, and a far more manly and generous spirit than we are accustomed to even in Europe and America. They have shown strength, but no rudeness . . . When they were wrong, they have readily admitted their mistakes; when they were right, they have never sneered at their European adversaries.'¹

The criticism of the administration by British politicians and the praise of Indian culture, religion, and philosophy by British scholars awakened the Indians out of their slumber and planted in them a ray of hope. Just as a liberal policy begets a liberal attitude, reactionary tendencies bring in their train violent reactions. Revolutionary spirit flourishes in empty stomachs; and oppression turns the wheel of liberation. Any demand for self-expression, any initiative in the preservation of self-respect and any cry for an honourable and equal place in the government of the country brought forth the outburst, 'Of all the absurd things which have been said or done for India, there is none more absurd than the cry which demands a share of the Government for the natives. It is a most dangerous fallacy to suppose that India can be governed by any but Europeans, so long as it is British India. We must not abdicate our functions if we would retain the country.' Nor is there a more mischievous policy than that which pretends to establish a moral equality between the native and the European. We have won the country by virtue of our superiority. If we are only equal to those we con-

¹ Max Muller, *India, What Can It Teach Us*, 63, 40-75.

quered, we ought not to pretend to rule them and if we once convince them that we are no longer their superiors, we may be assured that they will profit by that conviction.¹

6. Legal Definition of India

This is the most appropriate place for a legal and constitutional definition of India in so far that from now

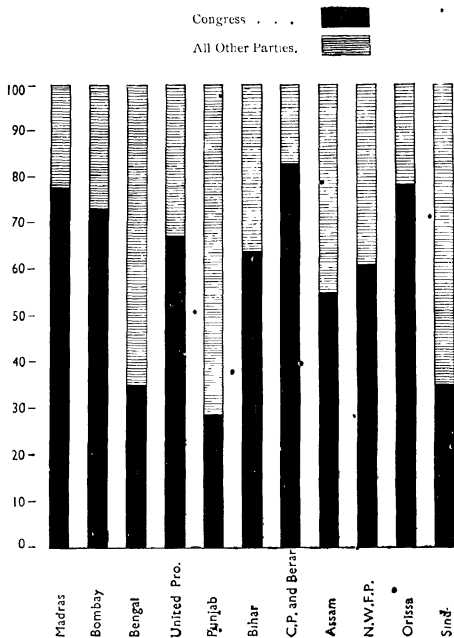


FROM THE WILDERNESS OF 1858 TO THE LAND OF FREEDOM AND PRO

on India meant a complete political unit under one and only paramount power whose laws were enforced in the remotest corners of India and whose power was felt by every section of the country. 'The expression "India"

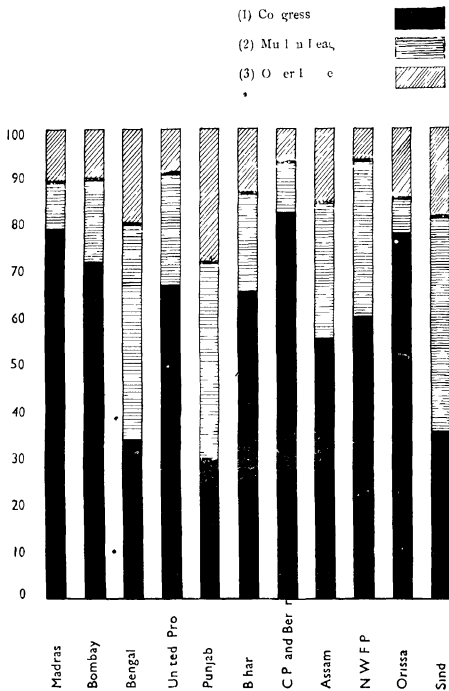
¹ 'The English in India,' *loc. cit.*, 206.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, 1946 **The Congress Party in Comparison with All Other Parties**



N.B.—The Congress has secured more than 50 per cent of the seats in 9 out of 11 Provinces.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS 1916 The Congress the Muslim League and Other Political Parties



shall mean "British India," together with any territories of any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of Her Majesty, exercised through the Governor-General of India or through any Governor or other officer subordinate to the Governor-General of India.¹

¹ 'Interpretation Act of 1889' *Chitty's Statutes of Practical Utilities* I, 15.

* CHAPTER VI
A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM



1. The Political Parties; The Congress Lead

The year 1938 marked a new era in Indian history. As 1858 was one of the darkest years, 1938 was one of the most hopeful years. It saw the end of an epoch and the beginning of a new one. During the eighty years between 1858 and 1938 India had a new birth of freedom such as she had never experienced before, and 'government of the people, by the people and for the people' was preached from one end of the country to the other.

The situation was altogether different in 1938. In almost all the provinces, popular governments were functioning, and gone were the years succeeding the Mutiny. Freedom had come to stay. We are too near the events of recent years, 1939-1946, and this is not the place to analyse them. But it must be emphatically stated that the lightning changes that took place in the social and political field in the post-Mutiny period transformed India most drastically for the better. A New India had come into existence and a new outlook

governed her conduct. A miracle had taken place. India was on the march to take her honourable place in the family of nations.

In the last week of December, 1929, the Indian National Congress met on the banks of the Ravi river and declared India independent!¹ The independence resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority. The 26th of January, 1930, became the first Independence Day, and since then, on the 26th of January of every year, it is celebrated throughout the length and breadth of the country in wildest enthusiasm. The Independence Pledge is taken by tens of thousands of people all over India.² It reads :

'We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence.

'India has been ruined economically. The revenue derived from our people is out of all proportion to our income. Our average income is seven pice (less than two pence) per day, and of the heavy taxes we pay 20% are raised from the Land Revenue derived from the peasantry, 3% from the salt tax, which falls most heavily on the poor.

'Village industries, such as hand-spinning, have been destroyed, leaving the peasantry idle for at least four months in the year, and dulling their intellect for want

¹ Sitaramayya, *The History of the Congress*, 605.

² *Ibid.*, 615.

of handicrafts, and nothing has been substituted, as in other countries, for the crafts thus destroyed.

'Customs and currency have been so manipulated as to heap further burdens on the peasantry. British manufactured goods constitute the bulk of our imports. Custom duties betray clear partiality for British manufacturers, and revenue from them is used not to lessen the burden on the masses but for sustaining a highly extravagant administration. Still more arbitrary has been the manipulation of exchange ratio which has resulted in millions being drained away from the country.

'Politically, India's status has never been so reduced as under the British regime. No reforms have given real political power to the people. The tallest of us has to bend before foreign authority. The rights of free expression of opinion and free association have been denied to us, and many of our countrymen are compelled to live in exile abroad and cannot return to their homes. All administrative talent is killed and the masses have to be satisfied with petty village offices and clerkships.

'Culturally, the system of education has torn us from our moorings and our training has made us hug the very chains that bind us.

'Spiritually, compulsory disarmament has made us unmanly and the presence of an alien army of occupation, employed with deadly effect to crush in us the spirit of resistance, has made us think that we cannot look after ourselves or put up a defence against foreign aggression, or even defend our homes and families from the attacks of thieves, robbers and miscreants.

'We hold it to be a crime against man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this fourfold disaster to our country. We recognise, however, that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. We will, therefore, prepare ourselves by withdrawing, so far as we can, all voluntary association from the British Government, and will prepare for Civil Disobedience, including non-payment of taxes.

'We are convinced that if we can but withdraw our voluntary help and stop payment of taxes without doing violence, even under provocation, the end of this inhuman rule is assured. We, therefore, hereby solemnly resolve to carry out the Congress instructions issued from time to time for the purpose of establishing Purna Swaraj.'¹

The sufferings and sacrifices of the Congress men and women are indeed unique, and no other Indian political party has as good a record as the Congress in this respect. The sacrifices of all other political parties fall far short of the sufferings and sacrifices of the Congress. The Congress, as yet, is largely a middle class organization. But it is easily the most popular political party among the workers and peasants although it is generally believed that it is being financed by rich magnates.

2. The Government Recognition.

The Independence pledge is an expression of national sentiment. The Indian Declaration of Independence naturally reminds us of a similar event on the fourth of July, 1776. But the most amazing and unexpected phenomenon was the change of heart on the part of the British Government. The Viceroy was a different person in 1929 from the Viceroy of the post-Mutiny period. And India had changed with the change of times. Now she was to be treated as an equal partner in the commonwealth of nations. In a statement issued on the 31st of October, 1929, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India, explicitly stated that 'the goal of the British policy was stated in the declaration of August, 1917, to be that of providing for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to progressive realization of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. As I recently pointed out, my own Instrument of Instructions from the King-Emperor expressly states that it is

¹ Swaraj means Home Rule or Self Rule.

His Majesty's will and pleasure that the plans laid by Parliament in 1919 should be the means by which British India may attain *its due place among his Dominions*. Ministers of the Crown, moreover, have more than once publicly declared that it is the desire of the British Government that India should, in the fulness of time, take her place in the Empire in equal partnership with the Dominions. But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the Statute of 1919, *I am authorized on behalf of his Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.*¹

Therefore, the political atmosphere of 1929 was totally different from that of 1858. Moreover, the now famous draft declaration that Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India in 1942 made the British promise definitely more explicit. 'The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs.'

The cry for independence on the part of the Indian National Congress representing almost all classes and all sections was most natural. But the declaration of the Viceroy that the ultimate goal of the British policy in India was the attainment of Dominion Status, revolutionised the political thinking of India and intensified the growth of national consciousness. Nationalism, from now on, was the most significant emotional factor in the public life of India. Its influence was at once intense and universal. Three hundred and fifty mil-

¹ *Ibid.*, 592-593.

lions¹ of human beings began to feel its pressure and momentum as they did nothing else.* The word *Swadeshi*² has come to characterize the entire national upheaval and the attachment of Indians to everything Indian. The word *Swaraj* is the most adequate Indian expression for freedom. The cry for *Swaraj* and everything *Swadeshi* has come to dominate almost every walk of life. The Indian nationalist movement itself is called the 'Swadeshi Movement.'³

3. The Muslim Attitude

Nationalism has not been an exclusive monopoly of the Congress party only. The British recognition of the Indian demand for independence would have been only half-hearted but for the universal demand for self-determination on the part of almost all parties in the country. Even if the Congress demand for independence could be dismissed as a Hindu demand in so far as the Congress is dominated by the Hindus, almost all other parties also have gone on record on the question of national freedom.

The Muslims form a majority in Bengal, Punjab, Sind and the North-West Frontier Province and a powerful religious minority in the whole of India. The Muslim League, representing a vast section of the Muslim population, has come to voice the feelings of Muslim India on all matters of vital importance to the country. Though Mr. Jinnah concluded that, in the opinion of the Indian National Congress, 'the Muslim League is composed of toadies, it is a reactionary body, it is in alliance with the Imperialistic power',⁴ the Muslim

¹ The Census of 1931 places the population of India at 352,837,778. *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1922-23—1931-32* (Gmd. 4835), 4-5. The same *Abstract* is used throughout this Chapter unless otherwise mentioned.

² *Swadeshi* means anything of one's own country. For a comprehensive commentary on the terms *Swaraj* and *Swadeshi*, see Gandhi's *Young India*, 1919-1922. 653, 484-562.

³ *The Swadeshi Movement: A Symposium* (By Indian and European Writers).

⁴ Noman, *Muslim India*, 386.

League was not behind the Congress in its desire for freedom, and its resolution on independence reads, 'Resolved that the object of the All India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the constitution.'¹

The Muslim League, which is generally considered to be a party of land-lords, nawabs and die-hards, made it clear to the world that on the question of independence for India it did not lag behind any other party. In October, 1937, at the Lucknow session, the Muslim League voted for Indian independence. Mr. M. Muzzaffar, publicity officer of the Cawnpore Muslim League, wrote, 'On October 18, 1937, at the Muslim League session in Lucknow we passed the famous resolution of complete independence . . . When we say that we want full independence we honestly mean it. We want India to be free and want that freedom enjoyed by every community. Our quarrel with the Congress has been with regard to the correct use of political power which is coming into Indian hands. We want that power to be used impartially and not to the detriment of the Mussalmans.'

'But although that quarrel has been serious enough, it might not be interpreted to mean, as is sometimes done, that we can ever oppose political progress. Muslim public opinion is solidly in favour of full freedom as will be apparent when the time comes. Their quarrel with the Congress is a domestic matter and must not be used as an argument by British imperialists to block political advance. If this is done disillusionment must follow.'

'I am convinced that Britain will commit a grievous mistake if she takes refuge behind any such excuses and fails to do justice towards India.'

¹ *Ibid.*, 354.

'Throughout the Muslim world, Islam stands for liberty and freedom. Love of freedom is ingrained in a Mussalman and he could neither be intimidated nor be manoeuvred into saying, "Let me and my countrymen remain slaves. I would prefer slavery to freedom".'¹

The criticism of the British policy by some Muslim Leaguers has not been less severe than that of any Hindu, Sikh or Christian. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League party in the Central Legislative Assembly, in the course of a discussion on the finance bill, asserted that the present 'Government of India was completely divorced from public opinion and did not enjoy the confidence of the people.' He said, 'It is most unfortunate that although every other country, which is involved in this war, is making an all out effort, in India alone the Government and the people are total strangers. It is therefore natural that the Indian Government, not enjoying the confidence of the people, should have its actions looked upon with suspicion.'² Though Chaudry Afzal Haq, a man of clear and independent thinking, declared, 'Muslim League always presented itself to me as a political club of idlers and parasites. They have not yet dreamt of the horrors that will follow the Pakistan scheme. They sit satiated, with their heads full of castles in the air,'³ Wilfred Smith, a keen observer of Indian politics, asserted that progressive elements have found their way into the Muslim League politics, and that the liberal element inside the League was more pronounced and assertive now than it had been at any other time before 1942.⁴

The democratic nature of Islam has been a force in the right direction. In the words of Afzal Haq, 'Islam is the religion of peace . . . It has no other message but that of goodwill and toleration . . . In Islam race or origin

¹ Thompson, *Enlist India for Freedom*, 100.

² *Tribune*, Lahore, March 18, 1943, p. 4. Col. 4.

³ Ch. Afzal Haq, *Pakistan and Untouchability*, 153.

⁴ Smith, *The Muslim League*, 1 ff.

is neither a handicap nor a privilege. It aims at forming a classless society ; so its doctrines are best suited to proletarianism.¹ Whatever may be said of the League, and literally, the same criticism may be levelled against the Congress, it cannot be denied that Islam, in its pure form, stands for peace and brotherhood, and that the League, even as the Congress, has gone on record on the question of Indian independence.

There are many who piously wish for a Congress-League agreement as the only hope of Indian freedom. Such well-wishers seem to lack any political sense, for, if they understand the A.B.C. of party politics in any part of the world, they would stop shouting this now meaningless slogan. As a matter of fact, one should hope for an agreement among all the political parties for the future welfare and development of the country, but no party, however great or small it may be, should be allowed to retard the progress of the country to the extent of vetoing all other political parties. If an agreement is impossible, the issue may be referred to an international tribunal, or, Britain should impose, as Sir Mohammed Zafar-ul-lah Khan had suggested, a dominion constitution on India. Louis Fischer, an independent and fair-minded American observer, correctly stated, 'But I carried out of India the definite conviction that if the British wished, they could have a working unity in India within twenty-four hours.'²

Apart from an overwhelming number of Muslims in the Congress ranks and the League who sincerely and whole-heartedly work for the freedom of India, a powerful Muslim group known as the 'Nationalist Muslims' has always adopted a most progressive and liberal programme with regard to the problems of India. They have consistently stood for the freedom of India. The Jamiat-ul-Ulema, which is a well known political body consisting of Muslim religious scholars, has been always

¹ Afzal Haq, 14-15.

² Fischer, 'Indo-British Tangle', *Tribune*, Lahore Nov. 2, 1942, p. 4, Col. 4.

fighting on the side of the Congress for the freedom of the masses.¹ The Majlis-i-Ahraz, is an influential proletarian organization under the leadership of Muslim religious leaders. Its attitude towards the Hindus has been friendly and favourable.² Its progressive programme includes an equitable distribution of the wealth of the country, the removal of untouchability and respect for every religion.³ Momins form a distinct *economic* group in Islam. Recently, some of the Momin candidates defeated a few Muslim Leaguers in the Bihar Assembly elections. Dr. S. A. Latif of Hyderabad, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir Wazir Hassan, the Sind Premier Allah Bux, A. K. Fazal-ul-Haq of Bengal, Sir Mohd. Zafar-ul-lah Khan and Sayyid Atta Ullah Shah Bukhari, to mention only a few outstanding Muslims, have profoundly influenced the minds of not only their own co-religionists but also of the Hindus, Christians and Sikhs. The Momins' stand for equality, freedom and justice has been proverbial. Recently the Khaksars have come out in the open demanding self-determination for the masses.

The Nationalist Muslim Conference, wherever it met, invariably voted for the independence of India. In 1944, the Nationalist Muslim Conference that met at Delhi declared, 'This meeting, therefore, urges the British Government to start negotiations with the leaders of India, without any further loss of time, so that a real National Government, wielding effective authority, should be established in the country.'⁴ To sum up the Nationalist Muslim position, we may say that 'he (the Nationalist Muslim) wants to see the country freed from foreign domination and he has made and is prepared to make every sacrifice to achieve that end. To him freedom does not mean the collective freedom of one section and the subordination of any minority; but the fullest freedom and equality of every Indian national. He,

¹ Afzal Haq, 34.

² *Ibid.*, 34-35, 163

³ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴ *Modern Review*, June, 1944, 412.

believes not merely in political, religious and social, but also economic freedom which means freedom from want and exploitation.¹

4. The Indian Christians

The Indian Christians form the second largest minority community in the country. Their political views as expressed by their organizations and real leaders have always been above board. But the fact remains that they have been often treated as a negligible political quantity. The Sikhs, the Anglo-Indians and the Europeans who are less numerous than the Indian Christians have a greater voice in the national and administrative affairs of the country. Further, a large number of intelligent and progressive Hindus consider Christianity as a denationalising force, and the Indian Christians as agents of the British Government and pillars of imperialism. The tragedy is that this prejudiced attitude is vocal and pronounced even in well-informed circles although all evidence goes to prove the contrary. Indian Christians have their faults. A few of them care for offices and positions rather than the welfare of the country. Time servers are found in every group of considerable size. The conduct of a few Indian Christians has, indeed, aroused the suspicion of others. But though the Muslim League has been generally known as a reactionary body, repeated attempts have been made by the Congress and other political organizations to come to terms with that body. In spite of the uncompromising attitude adopted by the League, few responsible Indians want openly to wound the feelings of the Leaguers for the fear that the League may flourish in opposition. But the general attitude towards the Christians by a large number of educated Hindus and others is quite unfortunate and uncalled for. Other communities such as the Muslims, the Parsees and the Sikhs are either indifferent towards the Indian Christian,

¹ Gupta, *Jinnah Sahib*, 'Please', 28.

or, they altogether ignore him. But the unfriendly attitude is as widespread as it is unjustifiable.

The Indian-Christian Association with the foreign missionary in the spread of Christianity as well as his desertion from the Hindu or Muslim fold might have evoked such an attitude. Religion, unfortunately, has been a cause of division between man and man, and the caste feeling crowns this unhealthy social discord. It is generally said that the Christian missionary and Christianity have denationalised the Indian Christian. And secondly, because the religion of the rulers is supposedly the same as that of the Indian Christian, he is generally considered to be in league with the British rulers; at least, he is under suspicion.

An unbiased examination of the facts will reveal that Christians were least responsible for the conquest of India by Britain. The pillars of imperialism are rarely to be found among Christians. They hardly form two per cent of the total population, and they are mostly engaged in most peaceful vocations such as teaching, medicine or agriculture. Such pillars, if any, are to be found not among the Christians but among the bankers, magnates, capitalists, mill and factory owners and landlords who are generally said to be in league with the foreign capitalists, and who are, as a rule, non-Christians. It must be plainly stated that among the pillars of imperialism, an overwhelming number of Hindu and Muslim bureaucrats and office-seekers who are more or less responsible for the continuation and perpetuation of imperialism, plays a significant role in the national life of India. If British imperialism is dependent on the Indian Christians then, it is resting on false foundations. Christianity and imperialism are contradictions. They are poles apart. Further, the British conquest of India was not due to the fact that she was a Christian power. The Turk, Afghan, Mughal, Pathan, Arab, Persian, Greek, Portuguese, French and Dutch tried the game although Britain was more successful than most of them.

There were Christians in India long before Britain came, and there will be, after Britain leaves. The question before us is whether or not the Indian Christian is a suspect. Does he 'ring true' when it comes to a show down?¹

At the All India Conference of Indian Christians that met at Lucknow in December, 1940, Dr. Rama Chandra Rao, M.A., M.D., the President of the Conference, voiced the opinion of the Conference as well as that of his community when he declared, 'So far as I know the Christian Indians lag not behind others in the desire that their country should be free But they are alive to the call of national freedom. They, too, feel the chains of slavery and realize the humiliation of being a subject nation, and the abject helplessness of looking to others for guidance and inspiration, and the galling sense of inferiority complex. They long to be a great and united nation quite fit to face the world with becoming self-respect and carve out its own destiny. They see that India can never become great and good without becoming free. Subjection has degraded her and caused her moral bankruptcy, economic helplessness and intellectual torpidity. India's manhood and womanhood could only blossom to fruition in the glow of unhampered freedom.'² The same Conference demanded from the Government the date of the announcement of self-government. Three years later, Rajah Sir Maharaj Singh who comes from the North as Dr. Rama Chandra Rao comes from the South, presiding over a similar conference, made it perfectly clear that the Indian Christian community was not behind any other community in their burning desire to see India free and independent.³

Few other Indian leaders were as widely trusted by the leaders of all communities as represented at the Round Table Conferences as S. K. Datta and K. T.

¹ Paul, *British Connection with India*, 181.

² *Modern Review*, Feb., 1941, 137.

³ *The Guardian*, Madras, March 25, 1943, 137.

Paul. Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have said that Datta was the only person at the R.T.C. who commanded the confidence of every party. Paul was easily the most widely respected Christian in the South. Great moral standards governed their conduct. They were respected by the hottest nationalists and were praised by men like Mahatma Gandhi and Jawahar Lal Nehru for their unselfish national service and upright stand. From their talks at the Round Table Conference one could see that their approach to the problem of India was far, far above the communal level.¹

Raj Kumari Amrit Kaur's devotion to the country is well known. When the Congress was asked to submit a list of names for the Viceroy's Council, this Christian lady's name was one of them, the first Indian woman's name to be so suggested. Aryanayagam, the brain behind the Wardha Scheme of Education; the Kumarappa brothers of the Village Industries Association; Joachim Alva, the able editor of the *Forum*, the most trenchant nationalist weekly; V. Chakrai, one of the trusted leaders of the Trade Union Movement in the South; Sudarisanam, the editor of the *Guardian*, a most progressive Christian weekly; Rani Maharaj Singh and Miss Sosa Matthew of social service fame; Kanwar Sir Dalip Singh, perhaps the most upright High Court Judge of his time; B. L. Rallia Ram who, with others, persuaded the Indian Christian Association to vote for joint electorates without the reservation of seats; Eddy Asirvatham who has persistently demanded a new social order; Drs. Jesudason and Gurubatham who have poured out their lives in medical and social service; H. C. Mookherji of Calcutta who gave away thousands of rupees for the education of all classes; and Chenchiah, one of the great exponents of the unity of Christian and Hindu philosophy and one who is greatly respected for his sound religious and economic views, are all Indian Christians. All these men and women wield consider-

¹ *Indian Round Table Conference* (Second Session), 170 ff. *Indian Round Table Conference* (Nov. 1930 to Jan. 31), 129 ff.

able influence on the life of the people. George Joseph was one of the first to practise Satyagraha in India.

Some of the most outstanding men and women in the public life of India have come from Christian schools and colleges. The contribution of the Indian Christians in the cause of education and medical relief is second to none. The great awakening among the outcastes of India is largely due to Christian enterprise. The Indian Christians and their Western associates, the missionaries, have played a significant part in the regeneration of the country. Alexander Duff, George Howells and William Carey in Bengal; William Miller, Eleanor McDougall, Alice Van Doren, and the Scudder family in the South; Eddy, Washburn and Chandler in Madura; Wilson, Hume and McKenzie in Bombay; Hislop in Nagpur; Isabella Thoburn in Lucknow; Winslow in Poona; Paton in Tirupattur; James Ewing, Dame Brown, I. T. McNair and Edmund Lucas in the Punjab have exerted a most profound and far-reaching influence over thousands of Indian men and women who have gone out with a great vision to create a new and better India. Thousands of beds are being maintained in the Christian hospitals in India for Hindus, Muslims and other non-Christians. The Christian hospitals at Miraj, Ludhiana, Vellore, Allahabad, Madanapalle, and other places have rendered valuable services. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have inspired Indian youth in the right direction. Missionaries like Fred. Fisher, R. R. Keithahn, Edmund Lucas and Stanley Jones have consistently advocated the freedom of India. Emily Kinaird, Foss Westcott, Dick Keithahn, Sir Henry Holland, H. D. Griswold and many others have given their time and talents freely to the service of the country. C. F. Andrew's devotion to India does not need any apology. Quite recently, Dr. Stanley Jones told an American audience, 'The acid test of our intentions is India. Will freedom be given to her? If not, imperialism will be in the saddle.'¹ The Indian Christian de-

¹ *Guardian*, Madras, Aug. 24, 1944, 335.

mand for freedom has been unequivocal, and his services to the people of India have gone a long way to the making of the nation. In the enduring and reconciling service to the people, no other group has a better record.

5. The Sikhs and the Hindu Sabha

By outlining the attitude of the Congress party, representing an overwhelming majority of Hindus and non-Hindus, to the issue of Indian independence, we are convinced that the attitude of about 70 per cent of the population towards the question of freedom is beyond all shadow of doubt. The Muslims and Christians form another 26 per cent, and their stand for independence and self-determination was made perfectly clear. Thus, about 96 per cent of the Indian population are united on the question of Indian independence, whatever may be their differences as to the control and exercise of political power, and the future constitution of India.¹

The Sikhs form a formidable political group in India. Many martyrs for the cause of political freedom have come out of this small but influential group. Their suffering for the sake of self-determination had caused world-wide attention in a year like 1930. 'Even the Sikhs, usually a warlike people who had always provided the best recruits for the English army in India, had recourse to the method of passive resistance. Every day, a procession of volunteers marched unarmed up to the temple, where they submitted unresisting to such severe blows from the police that they were unable to rise from the ground.'² Negly Farson of the *Chicago Daily News* cabled in 1930, 'Bearded Sikhs—several with blood dripping from their mouths—refusing to move or even to draw their kirpans (sacred sword) to defend themselves from a shower of lathi blows . . . The Sikhs had told the police that if the police left first they would leave, too. The police did, and at 9 o'clock the survivors of the

¹ *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 14-15.

² Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East*, 41c

Sikhs, not one of whom was not covered with blood stains and some part or another of his clothes torn, led the triumphant procession of Gandhi's non-violent Congress followers down the street.¹ The Akalis among the Sikhs have become a potent factor to be reckoned with in the politics of the Punjab. Today, they are in a position to make or unmake ministries. While they are opposed to Pakistan, and demand an Azad Sikh state, they do love freedom, and are united in demanding liberty. Even the most recent declarations of the Sikh leaders reveal that on the matter of Indian independence, there are no two opinions. Independence has been their primary concern.

A word about another political party is not out of place. The Hindu Maha Sabha which is generally considered to be highly communal in character and is run by well-to-do Hindus is in many ways similar to the Muslim League in policy, character, personnel and programme. But it had never lagged behind the other parties on the question of Indian self-rule. The Hindu Maha Sabha's resolution at Cawnpore, December 31, 1942, states, 'Complete unanimity on all points and among all political parties has never been achieved in the history of any country in the world and insistence on such unity as a condition precedent to transfer of power is only a pretext for not parting with political power.' And Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the President of the Hindu Maha Sabha, declared, 'we want India to be ruled by Indians and on behalf of Indians.'² But the Hindu Maha Sabha, as a political party, is practically dead, and today, it has sunk into utter insignificance as may be evidenced by the elections. In the Central and Provincial elections, they had little or no success. Many of them have joined the Congress ranks. The elimination and the rout of the Maha Sabha in the elections do not alter their stand on the question of Swaraj.

¹ *Christian Century*, July 2, 1930.

² *Tribune* Lahore, Jan. 1, 1943, p. 9, Col. 1.

6. Other Political Parties

The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference, headed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, has repeatedly demanded the establishment of a national government enjoying the confidence of the people. The Depressed classes of India have made common cause¹ with the rest of India in demanding home-rule. Their leader made it clear that 'it is only in a Swaraj constitution that you stand any chance of getting political power into your hands without which you cannot bring salvation to your people.'² The recommendations of the All Parties Conference regarding communal representation and swaraj constitution were more or less universally accepted by all parties and interests.³ The Indian National Liberal Federation which is generally supposed to be a staunch supporter of the British connection with India has recently urged the necessity of having a national government. T. V. Venkatarama Sastri, the President of the Federation, emphatically declared, 'The Government must declare immediately that India shall have the status of a Dominion at the end of the war. Her millions have fought in the battlefield for the cause of the United Nations. Cripps' offer contained that declaration, and the answers of Sir Stafford to the questions put to him made clear that the status of India shall be the same as that of the other Dominions, and that India shall have the same right either to remain within the Commonwealth or to go out of it. That declaration must be made forthwith and implemented so far as may be, by the British Government. While they are devising measures for the reconstruction of Italy, Poland and Greece, they can have no legitimate excuse for postponing the freedom of India.'⁴ The Communist party was the most persecuted group once. While demanding freedom for India as a whole, they never failed to condemn

¹ *Tribune*, Lahore, Dec. 17, 1942, p. 1, Col. 5.

² Thompson, *Enlist India for Freedom*, 75.

³ All Parties Conference, *Report*, and *Supplementary Report*, 21 ff.

⁴ *Presidential Address*, The Twenty-Fifth Session, I.N.L.F., Lahore, March, 1945, 12.

the exploitation of one group by another. Though quite unpopular at present among the nationalist circles, and unsuccessful in the elections, their determination to end imperialism is very well known.

7. National Anthems: Bande Mataram

The sentiment of nationalism often finds expression in songs and folk-lore. The freedom songs of Subramanya Bharathi became so popular among the young and old in South India that a Government Order prohibited the singing of his songs in schools. Even today, boys and girls of Tamil Nad sing his songs with great feeling and enthusiasm. Those who understand Tamil will realize that the sentiments and thoughts contained in these poems are as highly patriotic as they are revolutionary.¹

Just as the people of the United States of America are swept off their feet when the band plays the 'Star Spangled Banner', so are the emotions of Young India brought to a fever heat when some of the most popular national songs are sung. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee who wrote *Ananda Math* is one of the greatest Bengali novelists. *Ananda Math* which has become the political Bible of tens of thousands of Bengali patriots is perhaps the greatest Bengali novel. The plot of *Ananda Math* deals with a revolt against the Muslim or alien rule. *Ananda Math* is a monastery where the rebels, the sons of the motherland identified with the mysterious goddess Kali, sing 'Bande Mataram' (Hail to the Motherland) to the guests. They repeatedly declare that they know no mother but the mother country.² Edwin Montagu, the Secretary of State for India, while a luncheon guest of an Indian official, stood up when a young woman sang, 'Bande Mataram' which, he knew, was once proscribed by the Government of India.³ 'Bande Mataram' is the most popular anthem in all politi-

¹ Bharathi, *Nootkal* contains many national songs.

² Kohn, 357-358.

³ Montagu, *An Indian Diary*, 80-82.

cal and sometimes public meetings. In fact, it is considered the national anthem of India although two objections are levelled against it : it introduces an element of idolatry, and it wounds the feelings of some Muslims. Broadly speaking, the sentiments are noble, and the ideal it portrays is high. The following is a translation :—¹

Mother, I bow to thee !
 Rich with thy hurrying streams,
 Bright with thy orchard gleams,
 Cool with thy winds of delight,
 Dark fields waving, Mother of Might
 Mother free,
 Glory of moonlight dreams
 Over thy branches and lordly streams,
 Clad in thy blossoming trees,
 Mother, giver of ease,
 Laughing low and sweet,
 Mother, I kiss thy feet,
 Speaker, sweet and low,
 Mother, to thee I bow,
 Who hath said thou art weak in thy lands,
 When the swords flash out in three hundred
 million hands
 And three hundred million voices roar
 Thy dreadful name from shore to shore ?
 With many strengths which are mighty and
 stored,
 To these I call, Mother and Lord,
 Thou who savest, arise and save !
 To her I cry who ever her foemen drove,
 Back from plain and sea,
 And shook herself free.

It may be said without a word of contradiction that this song has inspired hundreds of young men and women to make immense sacrifices for the sake of the country.

¹ Om Parkash, *Independence Day Souvenir*, 7.

8. A National Prayer

Will Durant, the famous American philosopher, is reported to have said that Tagore was the reason why India should be free. Tagore was indeed a great Indian poet, philosopher, thinker, prophet and artist. Tagore's was a world soul and humanity was his family. There was nothing parochial about him. One of his prayers for India is taking deep root in the hearts of the Indian people irrespective of their creed. Christians often use it in their divine service. This prayer reveals the most creative and human side of Indian nationalism. Though this is not sung as widely as Bharathi's, or as *Bande Mataram* is, yet, its sublime and noble thoughts have found a permanent place in the thoughts and aspirations of the people :—

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;
 Where knowledge is free ;
 Where the world has not been broken up into
 fragments by narrow domestic walls ;
 Where words come out from the depth of truth ;
 Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards
 perfection ;
 Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its
 way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit ;
 Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever
 widening thought and action—
 Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my
 country awake.

'This classic verse, now the priceless possession of so many other nations, came at this juncture to the children of India, as their own passionate cry for freedom, that true freedom of their Motherland, which is political, and immeasurably more than what mere political freedom implies.'¹ Such was K. T. Paul's commentary on this great prayer.

9. Iqbal's Hamara Hindustan

As an Urdu poet, Sir Mohammed Iqbal has few equals. Those who understand Urdu alone can fully understand and appreciate the charm of his poetry. His poem, 'Hamara Hindustan' is a very popular anthem particularly in the Panjab and the United Provinces; and the Urdu-knowing population of the country naturally prefer this anthem to others. It welds them together as the sons and daughters of the soil :—

The finest country in the world is our India.
 We are its nightingales, it is our rose garden ;
 The highest mountain-range, the neighbour of the
 sky,
 Is our sentry and our protector.
 In its laps play thousands of rivers,
 Which make of it a garden* that is the envy of the
 world.
 Religion does not teach us to bear enmity towards
 one another.
 We are Indians and our country is India¹

10. Jana Gana Mana Adhinayak Jai Hai

Indian sentiments are expressed in many spoken and unspoken ways. Boys and girls all over India love to sing *Jana Gana Mana* at the end of their school functions. It lifts them from their local surroundings to wider and higher levels of thought. Because of its popularity among the young people, it may be rightly called the children's National Anthem. The following is a free translation :—²

O mighty leader of humanity !
 O, moulder of India's destiny !
 The greatest victory to thee be !
 North and South, East and West,
 Panjab, Sind, Gujrat, Maharashtra,

¹ Gupta, 1.

² This translation is by Mr. Hira Chand Batra, a B.A. student of the Forman Christian College.

Bengal, Bihar, Andhra, Tamilaga ;
 From the mighty mountains of the North
 Down to the maiden point,
 From the great waters of the North,
 Down to the restless seas,
 All wake up at thy voice ;
 All pray for thy blessing ;
 And all sing victory to thee !

* * *

O benefactor of all humanity !
 O, moulder of our destiny !
 Victory always be to thee !
 Thy voice is crystal clear,
 From morn till eve,
 From dusk to dawn.
 Hindus, Muslims, Christians come,
 Buddhists, Sikhs and Parsees come,
 These thy children at thy throne
 Sing thy eternal victory !
 Thy path is hard and dangerous,
 Narrow, thorny and mysterious,
 But thou art traveller ever.
 O eternal light and guide !
 Thou art our path finder ;
 Thy clarion call is clear ;
 Amid thy mighty revolution ;
 Life's passage is difficult and hard ;
 Struggle and danger are ahead ;
 But thou art the guide of humanity ;
 Thou art the moulder of our destiny !
 We sing eternal victory to thee.

11. The Indian National Flag

The flag is only a symbol. Its colour and design may indicate certain national ideals. Sometimes it may be an expression of herd sentiment and may even lead to acts of irrationality. In the history of mankind thousands have risked their lives for preserving this national em-

blem. It is supposed to stand for national honour and prestige. Flags have played a part in welding together the national sentiments of a people. The penetration of the flag to regions other than its own has led to serious consequences, sometimes even to war.

Just as other countries have flags, India, too, has one. Originally, the background of the Indian National Flag was horizontal stripes of white, green and red in that order from top to bottom. White was to represent all the small faiths of India, green Islam, and red the Hindus. The spinning wheel comprehending all the three colours, is super-imposed on this back ground.¹ Lately, the National Flag has undergone some change in colour and significance. It was resolved that 'the National Flag shall be three-coloured, horizontally arranged as before, but the colours shall be saffron, white and green, in the order stated here from top to bottom with the spinning wheel in dark blue in the centre of the white stripe, the colours standing for qualities, not communities. The saffron shall represent courage and sacrifice; white peace and truth; and green shall represent faith and chivalry, and the spinning wheel the hope of the masses. The proportions of the flag should be as three to two.'² The influence that this flag has wielded in the life of the nation has been very significant, and it has come to occupy an honoured place among the people.

12. The I.N.A. Songs.

This chapter on A New Birth of Freedom would be incomplete without a word on the mightiest armed attempt since the Mutiny for the achievement of Indian freedom. On the 5th of January, 1946, when the Indian National Army leaders reached Lahore immediately after their release from the Red Fort, a newspaper man confessed that he had 'no words to describe adequately and fully the scenes that he, along with over a lakh of people,

¹ Gandhi, *Young India*, 1919-22, 436-442.

² Sitaramayya, 811-812.

witnessed at the Lahore railway station on the arrival of Col. Shah Nawaz, Col. Prem Sehgal and Col. Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon here today. The least that one could say is that Lahore has never seen ever before such crowds, bubbling with enthusiasm.¹ When, on the 5th of November, 1945, the first of the I.N.A. trials started in the historic site of Delhi, it caused widespread sensation and sorrow all over this unfortunate country. The story of the I.N.A. will continue to inspire tens of thousands of people as long as liberty and freedom are ideals worth living and dying for. On that day, India witnessed a nation-wide strike on the part of the student body, and millions of people turned their attention to the Red Fort at Delhi where, eighty years ago, the last emperor of Hindustan, Bahadur Shah, was charged with treason for waging war against the King. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru expressed the heart-beats of millions of Indians when he stated that, 'the punishment given to them would in effect be a punishment on all India and all Indians and a deep wound would be created in millions of hearts.'² During the I.N.A. trials, the story of the Azad Hind Fauj unfolded itself, and for the first time, the Indian people came to know what a great and well-organised army the I.N.A. was.

On the 15th of February, 1942, Singapore fell, and 60,000 British, Australian and Indian troops surrendered to the Japanese. Capt. Mohan Singh was appointed to take charge of the 32,000 Indian soldiers and officers. It was Capt. Mohan Singh who first conceived the idea of an Indian National Army to fight for Indian independence, and hundreds of men under his charge were to form the nucleus of this army. In March, 1942, the Tokyo Conference of representative Indians from all over East Asia under the presidency of Rash Behari Bose welcomed the idea of an I.N.A. and decided to

¹ *Tribune*, Lahore, January 6, 1946, p. 1.

² Nair, K., *The Story of the I.N.A.*, 33.

raise an army to liberate India. Three months afterwards, another conference of representative Indians from East Asia was convened in Bangkok under the chairmanship of Rash Behari Bose. Its immediate outcome was the creation of an Indian Independence League to carry on the work of the Indian Independence Movement. The I.I.L. was formally authorised to raise an army called the I.N.A. to be controlled and directed by Indians themselves, and having the powers and status of a national army. The army was to consist of those among the Indian prisoners of war who volunteered to serve in this new army and others from the rank and file of Indians who had settled down in various parts of East Asia. A Council of Action which was a main branch of the I.I.L., consisted of Rash Behari Bose, N. Raghavan, Mohan Singh, K. P. K. Menon and C. Q. Gillani. The I.N.A. was to be under the direct control of the Council of Action. With Capt. Mohan Singh as G.O.C.¹ the Indian National Army was formed on the 1st of September, 1942. But owing to differences of opinion between Mohan Singh and R. B. Bose, the I.N.A. was dissolved, and Mohan Singh found himself behind prison bars. It seemed that the I.N.A. came to an unexpected and sudden end.

From January, 1943, efforts were being made to re-organize the I.N.A. Meanwhile, Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Singapore on the 2nd of July, and eventually took charge of the reorganised I.N.A. On the 21st of October, 1943, a Provisional Government of Free India was proclaimed. 'The next event of importance thereafter is that so far as the I.N.A. was concerned, it began to carry out its functions under the orders of the new State.'² In the words of Capt. Shah Nawaz Khan, 'there were no communal differences among them. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians lived together, ate together, fought together, and shed their blood to-

¹ Nair, 10

² Desai, Bhulabhai, J., *I.N.A., Defence*, 5.

gether for the freedom of India.'¹ There were many Muslim women in the Rani of Jhansi Regiment led by Lt.-Col. Lakshmi Śwaminathan of Madras.² Thus, the Azad Hind Fauj was a regular army even as the colonial forces were under the command of George Washington.

Till the different units of the I.N.A. surrendered as prisoners of war to the British command during the course of 1945, it commanded the loyalty and respect of hundreds of thousands of Indian people of East Asia.³ The I.N.A. trials re-kindled the flame of nationalism from one end of the country to the other, and the Congress easily emerged as the greatest champion of Indian freedom. It was fortunate that the three I.N.A. heroes came from the three principal communities of India although it must be said to the credit of these outstanding personalities that communal interests did not matter to them in the face of national and human interests. Wherever they went, they were received with warmest enthusiasm. It is said that, while traitors from respectable families were hanged in England, Sir Claude Auchinleck, the British Commander-in-Chief in India, remitted the sentence of transportation for life passed by the Court Martial, and set the I.N.A. Trio free for reasons best known to himself and the British Government in India and Britain.

Though the I.N.A. is past history, it has made a place for itself in the hearts of millions of people. Many persons, factors and forces inspired the Indian National Army in their life and death struggle. In the India of today, Subhas Chandra Bose has no equal in the art of inspiring thousands of people to stake their lives and all in the cause of human liberty. Under his guidance and direction, the Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, and men and women vied with each other to make supreme sacrifices for the sake of the country. To these men and women, the two-nation theory did not exist, and

¹ *Tribune*, Lahore, January 6, 1946, p. 9.

² *Tribune*, Lahore, December 24, 1945, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*

Pakistan was an empty phrase. The sentiments of Netaji (as Subhas Chandra Bose was affectionately called) and the thousands of men and women that followed him to the valley of death are partly expressed in songs and stories. The anthem that the I.N.A. soldiers used to sing in their long and weary hours is popularly known as the *Delhi Chalo*.¹ Today, it is widely known throughout the country, and is repeated by thousands. At the request of the author, it was translated from Urdu into English by Ravendra Kumar Soni, a student of the Forman Christian College. The following rendering² is based on Mr. Soni's translation :—

DELHI CHALO

On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On !
None can lock us, none to block us, none
dare stop us, on !

We'll unfurl the Tri-colour, on the Red-fort
top tower ;
Joyful shouts of *Jai Hind* shall shake the hearts
of All-Ind ;
Then, people shall be rulers, owning all the
powers !
On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On !

Fearless and tearless, on to Delhi tireless ;
Death will take a holiday when freemen fight
the bitter way ;
Scatter the foes on every side, peace and good-
will then abide ;
On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On !

Let foes and traitors soon depart, our land shall
have another start ;
Your day is gettin' mighty short as freedom's
bullet's thunder shot ;

¹ Saberie, I., *The History of the I.N.A.* (in Urdu), 95.

² By the Author.

The land we own as dear as heart, see her
bloom with science and art !

On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On !

Our fathers' faith and ours too, weld us as we
struggle to—

Slay the Dragon in the den, and the shock shall
shake the big London !

Honour to Zafar, honour to all, join the free-
dom's clarion call !

On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On to Delhi ! On !

Lt. Gurbaksh Singh Dhillon, one of the I.N.A. Trio, has made known another song known as the *Ooto Soye Bharat ke Nasiebon ko Jaga Doo*. Dhillon occasionally recites this anthem in public and political meetings. As it is associated with the person of Dhillon, it has already arrested a lot of attention. Many believe, perhaps on good authority, that *Ooto Soye* is based on the last message of Subhas Chandra Bose. It was rendered into Urdu poetry by Dhillon. At the request of the author, it was translated into English by Raminder Singh, a student of the Forman College. The following rendering by the author is based on Mr. Ramindar Singh's translation :—

OTO SOYE BHARAT KE NASIEBON KO JAGA DOO

Order the destiny of Hind Mother-land !
Ladder, the freedom for all glowing band.

Dauntless the bravery of Hind marches on,
Faultless we break through the enemy line
gone !

What is a brother when freedom is at stake ?
Naught is the enemy, a State we will make !

The love of the martyrs, the long life they give,
The will of the heroes, in our hearts they live.

Heed not the wounds, nor a doubt and the like,
Deed is the way, laugh at death all alike.

The land and the Red-fort, yes, all under foe,
The band plays the music of freedom, now
go!

Kutab Minar breathlessly waiting for you,
Nothing as the Tri-colour will adorn the great
view.

One burning flame burns in my heart of hearts,
Jai Hind my salute, but now take your part.



•CHAPTER VII

•THE FORCE OF NATIONALIST SENTIMENT



A. The Revolutionary Aspect

1. *In Song and Slogan*.—Since the turn of the century, the very atmosphere throughout the length and breadth of India¹ has been permeated with a spirit of revolution and national emancipation. The spirit of revolt has found constant expression in poetry, politics, economics, religion and society. Sir Mohammad Iqbal, in his early career as a poet, voiced this revolutionary sentiment in one of his poems² :—

The rich are making gold from the blood of the
labouring poor ;
The village tyrant devastates the harvest of the
peasants ;
Revolution ! Revolution ! Revolution !

The seeming piety of the Sheikh draws the faith-
ful in a snare.

The Brahmin has befooled the simple unbeliev-
ers.

¹ The total area of India is 1,808,679 sq. miles. *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 4-5.

² Datta, *Asiatic Asia*, 179-180.

The kings are playing foul, deception is their
dice.

They murder subject nations, the nations are
asleep

Revolution ! Revolution ! Revolution !

The father's at his pulpit, the son is in his school
The one is childish old, the other's spent in
youth.

Ye Muslims, I lament the curse of science and
of art,

For evil is cheap among us and good is hard to
find

Revolution ! Revolution ! Revolution !

How bold the false to be in ambush for the true
The blind bat is making a night raid on the sun
The Church of Jesus Christ has nailed him on
the Cross

The chosen one's exiled from the Kaaba with
his Book

The strength of the leopards is at times bestowed
upon the weak

A flame may now peep out from the bubble's
flimsy globe

Revolution ! Revolution ! Revolution !

One hears 'Inqlab Zindabad' (Long Live Revolution) in every nook and corner of India. Whenever a nationalist leader is taken on a procession, crowds shout, 'Inqlab Zindabad'. In all political meetings, this is invariably repeated with unlimited enthusiasm. Many young men and women often think in terms of revolution of one type or another. The inspiration that Indian nationalism draws from the French, American and Russian revolutions is beyond one's comprehension.

2. *Terrorism and Assassination*.—Men and women of all ages are under the sway of this revolutionary spirit. To them, revolution is the only remedy to all

ills. The peasant and the prince are aware of the revolutionary tendencies in India's life and thought. The rulers and the ruled are conscious of the tremendous changes that are coming. But the youth of India are the dynamic element in this national upheaval. Colleges, universities and schools numbering 250,000 or more with a student population of over 13,000,000 are the heart and soul of the revolutionary temper.¹ Students have been the best agencies for broadcasting and disseminating radical and revolutionary ideas and ideologies. Radical literature, and the sacrifices of the nationalist heroes have been their greatest inspiration. 'The younger generation looked with anger and scorn upon their elders' European habits of life and thought . . . These younger men were all for storm and assault and they turned their faces towards the darkness and the instinctive forces which seemed to reach out hands to them from the country's primeval culture and which had invaded Europe in the philosophy of Schopenhauer and his disciples, Wagner and Nietzsche . . . Youth was as bitter against English rule as against the older generation.'² A missionary who observed Indian conditions during these tumultuous days noted, 'Year after year, hundreds of them go forth in a state of moral and intellectual tension. From this Western education has come a continuous stream of ideas and impulses which are usually at utter variance with their previous ideals of life.'³

Secret societies were not uncommon among these revolutionary youths.⁴ Terrorism and political assassination were not altogether absent during and after the stormy days of the Partition of Bengal. Every British official, from the highest to the lowest, was aware of the danger under which he was living. Viceroy's lives were attempted and a number of minor officers were assassinated.⁵ Several conspiracy cases were held

¹ *Statesman's Year Book*, 1935, 127

² Kohn, *op. cit.*, 371.

³ Fleming, *Building with India*, 55

⁴ Kohn, 372.

⁵ Minto, Mary, *India, Minto and Morley*, 1905-1910, 230-261.

all over the country.¹ Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru, and Sukh Dev, to mention only three, were executed amidst universal mourning.² Revolutionary activities of the terrorists and the Gadar party led to the arrest of thousands of people many of whom were held in jail without trial while many others were hanged or sentenced to transportation for life.

3. *The Growing Proletariate*.—By 1929, there were more than a million workers in the factories of India, and the industrial workers including cottage industries, mines and transport were 20,000,000.³ 'For the first time, in the history of India, the proletariat thought of itself as a distinct class with an interest peculiar to itself. They began to feel that they were an exploited group, and in order to redress their own grievances, they often went on strike—a sure and dependable weapon. In 1931, there were 166 strikes involving 203,008 workers with a loss of 2,408,133 days; in 1929, the total loss of days owing to strikes was 12,165,691.⁴

The proletarian movement is gathering momentum everywhere in the country, and the workers, whether under the communist, socialist or trade unionist leadership, have made a most significant place for themselves in the life of the nation. Socialism is being advocated as the only way out of our economic and social chaos not only by the communists and socialists but also by a large number of others who are technically not members of these parties. The proletarian movement is basically embodied in the nationalist agitation.⁵ Lajpat Rai, Dhingra, Har Dyal who wrote *Self Culture*, Tilak, Krishna Varma, friend and disciple of Swami Dayananda and editor of the *Indian Sociologist*, Bhupendra Nath Dutt, Aravindo Ghose, Berendra Kumar Ghose and Vinayak Savarkar were some of the first revolutionaries and radicals although they never called themselves communists or socialists.

¹ Sitarammayya, 582 ff.

² *Ibid.*, 767.

³ *Condition of India*, 432-433.

⁴ *United States Government Commerce Year Book*, 1932, II, 526.

⁵ Dutt, *Palme*, *History of the National Movement*, 74.

B. The Emotional Aspect

The emotional and sentimental factor in any nationalist movement cannot be denied. It is the feeling about one's own people and country that constitutes nationalism. The romantic element in European, American and Oriental nationalistic movements has moulded the character and destiny of their people to a considerable extent. In Gandhi's own words, '*Swadeshi*' is a message to the world.¹ All the cultural and emotional idealism that attended the European and American nationalistic movements is beginning to blossom forth in India. It is not an exaggeration to say that Indian nationalism is fast becoming a kind of religion. Like the contemporary nationalist movements of Europe, Indian nationalism has acquired a more spiritual character in the years immediately preceding the first World War. 'Men searched for the moral basis of nationalism, and found it in the fostering and developing of national character handed down and moulded through the centuries. This realisation of national powers, however, was not a service rendered to self alone, but to all mankind, a duty to civilization as a whole.'²

The demand for independence is not merely made on a legal basis that every people have a right to form a government based on the consent of the governed, or as a matter of justice that, 'no people are good enough to rule over another people,' but on the plea that, the independence of India is going to result in the welfare and betterment of other people. Lala Lajpat Rai who was often noted for his objectivity wrote, 'A happy India will make a valuable contribution to the evolution of a better and more improved humanity.'³

The Messianic feature of the Indian nationalist movement has had a great sway over tens of thousands of Indian people who saw nothing good in Western civi-

¹ Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, 263.

² Kohn, 391.

³ Lajpat Rai, *The Political Future of India*, 208.

lization. This Messiah-complex captivated the imagination of the old and young alike after the first World War, which meant death to eight million young men and injury to three times that number, had revealed the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of Christendom.¹ The great catastrophe that overtook Europe and the world between 1914-18 forced many Indians to seek salvation in their own past. It also induced them into thinking that India was ordained and destined to save the rest of mankind. 'India cannot be destroyed, our race can never die out, for the most brilliant destiny, the most vital to the future of mankind, is reserved for India amongst all the peoples. India must give birth to the future religion of the whole world, the eternal religion that shall harmonize all religions and sciences and philosophies and shall unite all in the bond of our common humanity.'²

'Back to the Vedas' and 'back to the past' were the slogans of many who now had no use for anything and everything western. Everything in ancient Indian history looked grand and perfect! People began to take immense pride in the past. Mother India became a goddess fit to be worshipped. Secret appeals were made. 'Come, sons of India, cast aside your craving for pleasure, riches and worldly enjoyment, and step forth to offer yourselves to the Mother's service.'³ Oaths were taken and heavens were called upon to witness their sincerity and faithfulness. Nation was thus identified with divinity, and nationalism with the worship of the state. India, the home and nursery of 'religion, philosophy and culture,' was to arise in her glory for the salvation of the world.⁴

Political orations, naturally, have come to form an essential part of the literature of this period. Political declarations of politicians and particularly the nationalist politicians have been received as though they were the principles of salvation. A national system of education is being sponsored and national languages are being fos-

¹ Chirol, *India*, 184.

² Kohn, *op. cit.*, 381.

³ *Ibid.*, 380.

⁴ Archer, *India and the Future*, 23.

tered. The Indian National Congress which has been conducting its meetings in English has abandoned it, though not altogether, and has taken to Hindustani.¹ Holy scriptures are being translated with astonishing rapidity. Biographies of nationalists like Garibaldi, Mazzini, Parnell, Washington and Bismarck are being widely read. The sacred writings have come to form an authoritative basis for the glorious past of India,² and even today, scriptures are often quoted in support of certain views. The removal of untouchability, oneness of humanity, brotherhood of man, unity in diversity, reforms of all types and varieties, and political views and actions find their inspiration and support from the writings of the ancient sages :—

Meet together, talk together,
May your hearts apprehend alike
Even as the ancient gods,
Concurring accepted their portion (of the
sacrifice)

Common be the prayer of these, common be
their acquirement,
Common be their purpose, associated be their
thoughts,
I repeat for you a common prayer,
I offer for you a common oblation.

Common be your intention,
Common be the wishes of your hearts,
Common be your thoughts,
So that there may be complete union among
you.³

The wearing of the 'Gandhi cap' is considered a patriotic duty. The wearing of this cap is not so much from a utilitarian point of view as it is a matter of defiance and self-respect. The cult of Kali and the worship of

¹ Gandhi, *Young India*, 444.

² Mookerji, *Nationalism in Hindu Culture*, 3820

³ Last three verses of the Rig Veda translated by F. H. Wilson.

Bhawani have enthroned force as a most potent factor in life. The wearing of Khaddar¹ is not necessarily due to the fact that it helps the poor or disciplines the wearer, but that it gives the wearer an immense emotional satisfaction that he or she is different from the rest, and that he or she has dared to act heroically in the matter of service to the motherland whereas others who do not love the country have apparently lagged behind. Taking the nationalist leaders on a procession together with the framed pictures of those leaders who are either dead or absent has been a marked feature of the nationalist movement. Tens of thousands of people participate in processions and literally hundreds of thousands of people gather together on a *Maidan* (open space) in order to have *darshan* (the blessing of a glimpse) of the national heroes. Seditious songs are enthusiastically sung in all these demonstrations in order to stir up feelings for the mother country. Sometimes, the demonstrations and meetings resemble very much a religious revival meeting. Mahatma Gandhi *Ki Jai* (victory to Mahatma Gandhi); Maulana Abul Kalam Azad *Zinda Bad* (long live) are ovations that fill the air. Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose have become the veritable idols of the nation. Prayers are offered for the health of the national heroes. Going to prison and being garlanded on the way reveal the tense feeling of the people. Sometimes the emotional outburst brings into play the herd instinct which is very damaging to the movement itself as well as to the participants. The emotional aspect cannot be eliminated from any national movement, but its control by rational forces will enhance the importance of the movement. The emotional side of Indian nationalism has been guided and directed, though with occasional lapses, along creative channels.

C. The Political and Civil Aspect

1. *Non-co-operation*.—Apart from the demand for complete independence from the British domination,

¹ Home spun cloth.

Indian nationalism has expressed itself in many other political ways. 'Non-Co-operation' with the Government has been one of its chief features. The weapon of Non-co-operation has been one of the serious weapons that the nationalists have used from time to time. This method has been resorted to only in case the Government failed to recognize the nationalist demand. The following are some of its implications :¹

1. The resignation of honours and offices of every kind from the highest to the lowest, by government servants.

2. Surrender of all titles of honours and honorary offices.

3. Non-participation in government loans.

4. Suppression by lawyers of practice, and settlement by private arbitration.

5. Boycott of government schools by children and parents.

6. Boycott of reformed Councils.

7. Non-participation in government parties and other functions.

8. Refusal to accept any civil or military post.

9. Agreements to spread the doctrine of Swadeshi or Home Rule.

Every non-Co-operator or Satyagrahi has to take the following or similar pledge² :—

1. I desire to join the civil resistance campaign for the independence of India undertaken by the National Congress.

2. I accept the creed of the National Congress, that is, the attainment of Purna Swaraj (complete independence) by the people of India by all peaceful and legitimate means.

3. I am ready and willing to go to jail and under-

¹ Romain Rolland, *Mahatma Gandhi*, 60-61.

Gandhi, *op. cit.*, 69-238.

² Sitarammappa, 642-643.

go all other sufferings and penalties that may be inflicted on me in this campaign.

4. In case I am sent to jail, I shall not seek any monetary help for my family from the Congress funds.

5. I shall implicitly obey the orders of those who are in charge of the campaign.

There is a bargaining aspect to the Non-co-operation movement. It is contemplated because of the political and economic advantages it may secure. The cause of the movement is shown in the existing state of affairs in the country. A demand for relief is being made in many directions. Ultimately, a movement ought to be judged not only by its ultimate values and results but also by its immediate advantages. What is it able to secure for the masses? The following may be stated as some of the most immediate objectives :¹

1. Total prohibition.
2. Reduction of exchange ratio to 1s. 4d.
3. Reduction of Land Revenue at least by 50 per cent. and making it subject to Legislative control.
4. Abolition of the Salt Tax.
5. Reduction of military expenditure at least by 50 per cent. to begin with.
6. Reduction of salaries of the highest grade services by half or less, so as to suit the reduced revenue.
7. Protective tariff on foreign cloth.
8. Passage of the Coastal Traffic Reservation Bill.
9. Discharge of all political prisoners, save those condemned for murder or attempt to murder, or trial by ordinary judicial tribunals, withdrawals of all political prosecutions, abrogation of Section 124-A and Regulation III of 1818, and giving permission to all Indian exiles to return.
10. Abolition of the C.I.D., or its popular control.
- 11. To issue licences to use fire-arms for self-defence subject to popular control.

2. *Fundamental Rights*.—All democratic forms of

¹ *Ibid.*, 619-620.

government rest on the fundamental rights, privileges and obligations of the citizen. Without these rights, the state becomes a tyrant and an infallible divinity. Fundamental rights of man have been the basis on which a stable state could be built. The All Party Conference Committee, appointed to determine the principles of the constitution for India, recommended the following fundamental rights as an integral part of the constitution for India :¹

1. All powers of government and all authority legislative, executive and judicial, are derived from the people.
2. No person shall be deprived of his liberty or property save in accordance with law.
3. Freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion,^a subject to public order or morality hereby guaranteed to every person.
4. The right of free expression of opinion, the right to assemble or associate and the right to form unions.
5. The right to free elementary education to all castes and creeds in all state-aided institutions.
6. All citizens are equal before the law, and possess equal civic rights.
7. There shall be no penal law of a discriminative nature.
8. No person shall be punished for any act which was not punishable under the law at the time it was committed.
9. No torture or corporal punishment shall be lawful.
10. Every citizen shall have the right to a writ of *habeas corpus*.
11. There shall be no state religion for the Commonwealth of India, nor shall the state either directly or indirectly endow any religion or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status.

^a ¹ All Parties Conference Report, 101 ff.

12. No person attending any school receiving state aid or other public money shall be compelled to attend the religious instruction that may be given in the school.

13. No person shall by reason of his religion, caste or creed be prejudiced in any way in regard to public employment, office of power or honour and the exercise of any trade or calling.

14. All citizens have an equal right of access to and use of, public roads, public wells and all other places of public resort.

15. Freedom of combination and association for the maintenance and improvement of labour and economic conditions is guaranteed to every one and all occupations. All agreements and measures tending to restrict or obstruct such freedom are illegal.

16. No breach of contract of service or abetment thereof shall be made a criminal offence

17. Parliament (Indian) shall make suitable laws for the maintenance of health and fitness for work of all citizens, securing of a living wage for every worker, the protection of motherhood, welfare of children, and the economic consequences of old age, infirmity and unemployment.

18. Every citizen shall have the right to keep and bear arms in accordance with the regulations made on that behalf.

19. Men and women shall have equal rights as citizens.¹

3. *Civil Disobedience*.—One of the most important aspects of the Non-cooperation movement is that of Civil Disobedience or passive resistance. Men and women of every age and clime had resorted to some method of passive resistance in order to impress their masters or rulers with the injustice of the system they were living under and to demonstrate the justice of their

¹ See the Sapru Committee *Proposals* which contain comprehensive safeguards for the minorities.

own attitude and living. In India, the moral support from which the passive resisters draw their inspiration and strength is variously known as 'soul-force', 'moral-force,' 'truth-force,' 'ahimsa', 'satyagraha' and so on. It may be, and is construed as a political expedient. It is a weapon of the weak against the insolent and mighty. Sometimes it is a method and technique of living. It is a way of securing one's rights by peaceful means. According to Gandhi, 'When I refuse to do a thing repugnant to my conscience I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self. Passive resistance is an all-sided sword. It blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood, it produces far reaching results. It is difficult to become a passive resister unless the body is trained. Passive resistance is truth-force and it cannot proceed a step without fearlessness.'¹

Hundreds of years before the birth of Christ, Akhnatan, King of Egypt, Gautama Buddha and several Jewish prophets were staunch believers in the use of right and loving methods in order to bring about just ends. The Sermon on the Mount, the life and example of Jesus and the enduring example of the early Christians have influenced the Indian civil disobedience movement to a considerable degree. Tolstoy with whom Gandhi was in correspondence was a great exponent of this technique. Henry David Thoreau's refusal to pay the poll tax and his readiness to suffer the privations of a jail life greatly influenced Gandhi's attitude to the question of force. 'Iron bars do not a prison make nor stone walls a cage'. 'It was believed that the soul could not be imprisoned with the body and that the spirit was an independent entity not subject to injury or punishment as the body was.' Placed in a similar position for refusing his poll tax, the American citizen Thoreau, expressed similar thoughts in 1849. Seeing the walls of the cells in which he was confined, made of

¹ Gandhi, *Indian Home Rule*, 92 ff.

the solid stone two or three feet thick, he said to himself, 'I did not feel for a moment confined and the walls seemed a great waste of stone and mortar . . . I thought that the State was half-witted, that it was timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons, and that it did not know its friends from its foes, and I lost all my remaining respect for it, and pitied it.'¹

Civil disobedience has more than one side to it, and it expresses itself in many and diverse ways. The manufacturing of salt, boycott of foreign goods, picketing of shops dealing in foreign cloth, production of home-spun cloth, wearing of khaddar, non-payment of taxes in general and salt tax in particular, breach of forest laws, boycotting of British banks, insurances, ships and other institutions, prohibition of liquor, and non-participation in government functions reveal certain other aspects of the Indian Civil Disobedience Movement.

D. The Economic Aspect

1. *A Few Economic Grievances.*—Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir William Digby and Romesh Dutt were the first to open the eyes of India and the world to the tragedy of India in the economic realm. Their works² on the poverty and economic degradation of India still arrest the attention of scholars. Marxists may insist that economics is the only basis of history, and explain other features in human society and thought as mere superstructures. Whether this point of view is acceptable to all or not, the fact remains that economic factors have considerably influenced the evolution of history. Indian nationalism, like the Chinese, European and American nationalist movements, has drawn considerable strength and momentum from the economic

¹ Gandhi, *Speeches and Writings*, 141-42.

² Naoroji, *Poverty and un-British Rule in India*.

Digby, *Prosperous British India*.

Dutt, *Early Economic History of India under the British Rule*, and *India under the Victorian Age*.

situation obtaining in India. It is asserted that the economic ills of India are mostly due to foreign rule. The backwardness of India in the realm of education, industry, trade, sanitation, health, transportation and general progress is generally attributed to the British rule and its economic exploitation.

Gandhi asked, 'Why do I regard the British rule as a curse? It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford. It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture . . . We have been reduced to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness . . . The tale of India's ruination is not complete without reference to the liabilities incurred in her name. The iniquities sampled above are maintained in order to carry on a foreign administration demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 per month besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £5,000 per year, i.e., over Rs. 5,400 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs. 700 per day against India's average income of less than 2 annas per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs. 180 per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly Rs. 2 per day. Thus, you are getting much over five thousand times India's average income. The British Prime Minister is getting only ninety times Britain's average income. On bended knee, I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon.'¹

2. *The Spinning Wheel and the Cottage Industries.*—The spinning wheel occupying a prominent place in the national flag of India stands for an 'equitable distribution of wealth' and the revival of cottage industries.² No aspect of the Indian national movement has been

¹ Extracts from Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy, March 2, 1930.

² Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, 154-164.

subjected to such widespread misunderstanding and constant ridicule as the place of the spinning wheel in the economic regeneration of India. No sane nationalist and least of all Gandhi is opposed to the introduction of machinery into India. Gandhi has been unjustly accused of being an enemy of mechanical and technological devices although he has emphatically stated that he would not stand in the way of the industrialization of the country or the use of machines for the progress of India.¹ The revival of cottage industries of which



spinning and weaving form such an important part was to avoid the evil effects of the capitalistic system which results in the concentration of wealth, profit and consequently of power and influence in the hands of a few. It is one way of freeing India from the tribute she was paying to the Lancashire capitalists.

It is obvious that a cotton mill will be able to produce more yarn in one day than a thousand spinners will be able to produce in one year with the help of the spinning wheel. The mill usually belongs to a few capitalists, and the advantages of production are the monopoly of these few; but until that day when the tools of production and production itself will be popularly controlled in

the interest of the masses, the spinning wheel is not only a handy technique for an equitable distribution of wealth but a device to employ tens of thousands of unemployed men and women in order to increase their daily income. In a country like India where mass unemployment is an ever occurring feature, the revival of hand spinning and weaving helps thousands of people to earn their bread. For the time being, it could take the place of a subsidiary industry. From the time the Indian spinning and weaving industries were crushed in favour of Lancashire, no other industry had taken its place. Therefore, the revival of these industries has considerably added to the economic well-being of an Indian villager. 'The great mass is condemned to helpless and compulsory idleness through one-third of the year. A spinning wheel may be made at home, or bought for half a dollar, and the marketing of the yarn calls for no organization . . . There is to-day a demand for hand-woven cloth, for patriotism favours it. Even the Indian official, who must wear European worsteds at his desk, will change in the evening into coarse homespun. One can help the Indian village and deal a blow to Lancashire.'¹

The wearing of Khaddar has become a patriotic duty, and the people have been urged to wear home-spun cloth and to devote part of their time for spinning. The All-India Spinners' Association has popularised Khaddar throughout India and the Village Industries Association, under the Kumarappa brothers, is stressing the value and importance of using home-made products. Paper-making, basket-making, the manufacture of leather goods, toys, and the like, and the use of Indian agricultural products have become widespread. Valuable vitamins have been discovered in things that were once thrown away. In many places, people have taken to mat-making, poultry, bee-keeping and cattle-breeding. The revival of old Indian cotton industry and the renew-

¹ Brailsford, *Rebel India*, 17 ff.

ed economic activity in many directions have been some of the most significant developments in India.

3. *Boycott of Foreign Goods.*—'Experience gained during the past ten years through work in hundreds of villages has made it abundantly clear that the deepening poverty of the masses is due, among other things, to forced unemployment for want of a supplementary industry during leisure hours, and that only the spinning wheels supply that want on a universal scale. It has been further observed that the people having given up the wheel and consequently Khaddar, buy foreign cloth or cloth made in indigenous mills, thus causing a double drain from the villages—the drain in the shape of loss of fruits of labour and price of cloth. This double drain can be avoided only by the exclusion of foreign cloth, and Indian mills supplementing Khaddar only so far as it may be necessary. This Congress, therefore, appeals to the public to refrain from the purchase of foreign cloth and to the dealer in foreign cloth and yarn to give up a trade that seriously injures the interest of the millions of villagers. This Congress further calls upon all Congress organisations and allied bodies to intensify the foreign cloth boycott by increasing Khaddar territories.'¹

The boycott of foreign goods in general and foreign cloth in particular is a political weapon. It prevents hard cash being paid to the foreign capitalists and builds up confidence in the people who use this technique. The boycott movement, moreover, forces people to work and supply the necessary need caused by the boycott and thereby enables them to earn a livelihood. Boycott includes the picketing of all stores and concerns that deal in foreign goods. India witnessed during these years many instances of burning foreign cloth and bonfires of foreign goods. Protests against the burning of foreign goods were not heeded, and in a country which

¹ Sitarammayya, 774-775.

is completely disarmed, the weapon of boycott has served various purposes including the emotional satisfaction that it has been able to give to thousands. A Labour member of Parliament who witnessed the effects of the boycott movement in 1930-31, wrote, 'The merchants who import cotton piece-goods had ceased for six months to buy foreign cloth, but they had in stock quantities worth \$17,000,000 suited only to the Indian market. They could not be re-exported and were deteriorating in the warehouses. The merchants met and, in somewhat apologetic resolution, declared that they would sell these stocks, and thereafter buy no more. The Congress (the Nationalists) refused to compromise, and as the event showed, it did not over-estimate its strength. Hundreds of its women volunteers marched down to the wholesale market. They would picket every shop and office. Some of them declared that they would go on hunger strike until the merchants withdrew the resolution . . . The Congress had won. The figures of the other Customs service, the British Board of Trade, showed clearly enough the effect of this boycott. By the autumn of 1930 imports of cotton piece-goods had dropped between a third and fourth of what they were in the same months of the previous year. Imported cigarettes had fallen in value to the sixth of the old figure. Sixteen British-owned mills in Bombay had been closed down, and 32,000 textile workers were idle.'¹

E. The Breakdown of Caste

The one thing that engaged the attention of Indians for ages was religious and philosophical speculation. Few other peoples have taken so much time for prayer, meditation and contemplation as the people of India. But things were different when nationalism set the wheels of India in motion. 'Politics and not religion or philosophical speculation has become the favourite study of the intellectual classes.'² Between

¹ Brailsford, 23-24.

² Rathinaswamy, *The Making of the State*, 482.

the two world wars, the most popular subject for discussion among young and old, educated and uneducated, and men and women, has been politics. The daily newspapers that carry news about political developments in India reach every nook and corner of the country. For this reason, they are much more widely read than ever before. To the student population of India, politics is food and drink. Political controversies are not uncommon among the members of the same family. Even the masses are deeply interested in national politics for the simple reason that rightly or wrongly they have come to identify non-payment of taxes with *•Swaraj*.

The age-long institution of caste¹ has been shaken to its very foundations, and is being undermined everyday. •Not a day passes without inter-marriages taking place among various castes and communities. Concentration of workers in mills and factories, travel in railway trains and buses, movement of rural population into the cities, education, the idea of brotherhood, the reform movements in the Hindu fold and patriotism have dealt devastating blows to the structure of the caste system and the inequalities the castes may imply. Thousands of people change castes and take caste titles not their own. If one is well-to-do, and is well qualified, caste recedes to the background, and when one commands a great position or office, caste is no longer a barrier in his or her case if he or she is from an insignificant one.

The war has certainly affected the social structure of India. More than 2,500,000 recruits had to say goodbye to their caste rules and regulations when they joined the armed forces and learnt to live together as members of the same family. The author saw members of all castes and creeds eat together in the hundreds of restaurants of Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore and other big cities owned by high caste Hindus and staffed entirely by Brahmin waiters in the city of Madras. In most cities, the so-called outcastes are not segregated, but they live and

¹ Simon Report, I, 96, lists, 2,300 castes and sub-castes.

mix everywhere in the city. An American missionary rightly observed, 'Now all the important political parties in India are pledged to the elevation of the depressed classes. The Liberals have placed the uplift of the untouchables in the very forefront of their programme and have promised to bring it about by giving them special educational facilities. The Nationalists have declared themselves against untouchability and have promised full rights of citizenship to the depressed classes.'¹

Mahatma Gandhi placed the abolition of the inequalities of caste as the first and foremost of his reforms as early as 1920-21.² One of the observations that the Simon Commission made was the disappearance of the rigidity of the caste system. 'It would be a grave error not to note and make due allowance for the influences—social, economic, and political—which are tending by degrees to sap the rigidity of the caste system. The operations of large-scale industry bring together in a common enterprise men of different castes, and in the mills and mines of India many of them are working side by side in the same occupation. Trains and trams cannot make provision for caste distinctions. In the villages, co-operative societies have an important influence in breaking down ancient social barriers, and political, educational and economic activities everywhere tend to bring into contact different grades. For practical purposes, therefore, it may be assumed that the strictness of caste feeling is being slowly modified in many directions, and the movement has the sympathy and support of not a few of India's progressive leaders.'³

F. The Intensity of the Movement

There is no section or class which has not been affected by the nationalist spirit.⁴ Cities of India have been the leaders in this movement. Bombay, Calcutta, Madras,

¹ Fleming, *Building with India*, 150.

² *Simon Report*, I, 36.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ According to the Census of 1931, the urban population of India was 38,985,351, *Statistical Abstract for British India*, 45.

Lucknow, Poona, Lahore, Delhi, Cawnpore, Allahabad, Patna, Karachi, Nagpur, Bangalore and Madura have played a great part in the agitation for freedom. In fact, Indian nationalist leadership has been recruited from the city area. One notable and significant feature of Indian political life is that few political leaders have emerged from the villages of India while it is generally true that politicians of all shades and grades of opinion are largely from the urban areas. The most prominent Congressmen, Muslim Leaguers, Liberals, Non-Party leaders, leaders of the Depressed classes and others are usually from the city. Even the socialist or communist leadership is directly or indirectly of city origin. Prof. Ranga of the *Kisan Sabha* (peasants' union), Mr. Jinnah of the Muslim League, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru of Non-Party fame, Dr. Ambedkar, leader of the Depressed classes, Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram and Sir Maharaj Singh of the Indian Christian Association, and Mr. Joshi of the Communist party are all city products. Congress leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, B. G. Tilak, C. R. Das, Lajpat Rai, Jawaharlal Nehru, V. J. Patel, M. A. Ansari, A. K. Azad, Subhas Chandra Bose, C. Rajagopalachari, and almost all the Indian National Congress Presidents are city men or women.

One of the severe criticisms of the major political parties in India is that they represent only the middle class, and that party politics has been largely directed in the interest of the city traders, bankers and the white collared class. The criticism that the Indian political parties with few exceptions are dominated by lawyers, doctors, educators, traders, bankers and landlords is not altogether untrue. But a keen observer of conditions in India cannot fail to note that though politics in the past has been mostly a game of the city dwellers, in the last fifteen years, it has greatly absorbed the interests of the masses, particularly the peasants and workers. From the city, it is spreading out into the remotest corners of India.

Credit goes to Mahatma Gandhi, who, more than any other man or body of men, 'brought politics to the doors of the masses.'¹ He realised that the freedom of the cities was not the freedom of India's rural millions.² Eighty-nine per cent of the entire Indian population live in 696,831 villages.³ By making the rural areas politically and economically conscious, Indian nationalism was saved from falling a prey to the city menace and bourgeois domination. Just as in the French revolutionary period, the understanding between the Indian middle class and the peasants is more or less complete. India achieved, under Gandhi's leadership, something like a united front. In Gandhi's own words, 'The cities are not India. India lives in her seven hundred and fifty thousand villages. The cities live upon the villages. They do not bring their wealth from other countries. The city people are brokers and commission agents for the big houses of Europe, America and Japan. The cities have co-operated with the latter in the bleeding process that has gone on for the last two hundred years.'⁴ At present, the cities and villages alike are animated by common sufferings, common disappointments and common aspirations. Every section of the country is under the nationalist impulse.

The most interesting and certainly the most important man in the political arena in the last quarter of a century is unquestionably Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. He stirred millions of people to action and revolt.⁵ He is singularly unique among the Indian patriots in having surrendered his whole life and fortune for the elevation of the under-privileged. Under his leadership the 'dumb millions' have awakened to an era of self-respect and self-determination.⁶ Andrews wrote two decades ago that Gandhi's sway on the masses was

¹ Rathinaswamy, *op. cit.*, 482.

² Rural population of India (1931) Census is 313,852,351, *Statistical Abstract*, 4-5.

³ *Ibid.*, *The Indian Year Book*, 1934-35, 97.

⁴ Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, 261.

⁵ Durant, *The Case for India*, 58.

⁶ Brockway, *The Indian Crisis*, 35.

greater than all imperial power.' In the words of Kohn 'He was at once the first to weld India into a united whole, the awakener of the masses, and a holy man. The masses had held aloof from the agitation carried on by the educated classes, but in Gandhi they found a leader whom they could understand, a saint, the example of whose private life and the sincerity of whose religious convictions swayed them with a power of a divinity. Within a few months he had become the master of India, and by his instrumentality Mohammedans and Hindus were reconciled, Brahmans and outcastes, and the mass of the people in the remotest and sleepiest villages had been stirred to life.'²

As a result of this widespread ferment among all classes and sections of the people, communal differences between the Hindus and Muslims are forgotten; inter-caste marriages are advocated; public places including wells, temples and playgrounds are thrown open to all the people; inter-dining is taking place on a vast scale; and educational and economic opportunities are thrown open to the so-called outcastes and untouchables.³ The priests who once held an upper hand in the political and cultural life of India are pushed to the background. The landed nobility that lived on the fat of the soil for generations is in its death agony. The so-called warrior classes have the surprise of their life when they see the so-called non-martial classes equally courageous and heroic on the battlefields, and sometimes even more enterprising. Given the same training and opportunity, the Bengali, the Maratha or the Tamilian proves to be as good a killer as any one else. Inferiority complex due to birth or economic and social status is giving place to a new generation of healthy manhood and womanhood. India's social revolution is as widespread as her political and economic revolution.

India, for the first time in her history, has produced

¹ Andrews, *op cit.*, 398

² Kohn, *A History of Nationalism in the East*, 398.

³ Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, 298.

new classes of people whose interests are not the same as that of the four well-divided caste system of old. The lawyers who have made a mark on the public life of India for good or evil have come to stay as a distinct class in the social and particularly the public life of India. The influence that the lawyers wield in the nationalist movement as well as in the official world is definitely beyond all proportions to their numbers. Educators and educationists certainly have a more enduring and creative influence on the youth of the country than any other class of people. The introduction of western medicine and surgery, the training that the doctors and nurses receive, and the influence that these men and women wield, have introduced a new day for health and sanitation in India. In all Government and Christian hospitals, no consideration is given to caste or community; but all are treated alike. The introduction of science and the scientific outlook on life have brought about a critical and healthy attitude to life and its problems. Journalism and the daily newspaper have shaken the Indian people out of their age long slumber, and have made them conscious of the urgency of the times, and their own part in the evolution of national progress. Reformers of all varieties—from the Arya Samajists to the Communists—have brought about a revolutionary change not only in the mental life of the people but also in the actual social process. Trade, commerce and banking have brought about new interests the influence of which on the Indian social structure cannot be over-estimated. 'The very language which the British Raj had given to India as a common tongue served to spread and make more effective the agitation for ending a foreign rule.'¹

G. The People of the Indian States

The Native States,² under the so-called independent Princes and Chiefs, with a population of 81,310,845,³ and

¹ Gowen, *Asia*, 249.

² A Native State is 'any territories of any Native Prince or Chief under the suzerainty of Her Majesty', *Chitty's Statutes of Practical Utilities*, 1, 15.

nearly 712,508 square miles of territory, have become very vocal in the nationalist affairs, and are dominated by the movement for freedom and self-expression.¹ A Maharajah declared, 'The limit of endurance has been reached. We cannot stand the British much longer.'² Gibbons proceeded to declare, 'A significant change had taken place. Nationalism was no longer confined to editors and students. Merchants and land-owners were being contaminated. Encouragement was coming even from princes whose personal fortunes were naturally on the side of the British.'³ Disaffection among the princes and people has been a notable feature of this period. The Indian States are not isolated entities. They find themselves in the midst of British India seething with nationalism. The people in the States come into daily contact with what is going on in the rest of India. Consequently, there has been a widespread demand for constitutional government on their part. States like Travancore, Mysore and Baroda are becoming more progressive, and the introduction of political, economic, social and educational reforms in these States has arrested the attention of the whole of India.

The State Peoples' Conference which has been meeting year after year has stirred the people to action in many spheres. The nationalist movement in British India has never hesitated to lend its support in every possible way to the people of the States to achieve a further measure of freedom. 'The Indian National Congress recognises that the people in the Indian States have an inherent right to *Swaraj* no less than the people of British India. It has accordingly declared itself in favour of the establishment of representative Responsible Government in the States and has on that behalf not only appealed to the Princes to establish such Responsible Government in their States and to guarantee fundamental rights of citizenship, like freedom of person,

¹ *Statistical Abstract*, 4-5.

² Gibbons, *The New Map of Asia*, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, 47-48.

speech, association, and the press to their people, but has also pledged to the States' people its sympathy and support in their legitimate and peaceful struggle for the attainment of full Responsible Government.¹ No one can deny the great awakening in the States. 'Times change and the Maharajahs change with them.'² The Indian-States Delegation had agreed to come into an 'All-India Federation as early as 1930.'³ Recently, Travancore and Mysore have launched on a large scale industrial enterprise. In many other States, educational reforms have come to occupy the first and foremost place. Educational institutions are being endowed, and libraries are being built. To-day, the States are on the eve of a social revolution, and people, everywhere, clamour for social, economic and political reforms.

The Peoples' Movement in the States, however, has been handicapped by several factors.⁴ In many States, the people do not enjoy the most elementary civic and political rights; their leaders are often arrested and imprisoned indefinitely; the repressive regime has sought to prevent all political initiative on the part of the people; democratic organizations have been outlawed; and the Peoples' Movement, in many States, has been driven underground. But the freedom-movement has come to stay. A growing sense of unity between the Indian people in British India and those in the States has bound these peoples together. Among other things, the people in the States have come to demand parliamentary government, control over finance, an independent judiciary, free press, and civil liberty. In 1927, 3,000 delegates representing more than eighty States passed the following significant resolution: that for a speedy attainment of Swaraj for India as a whole, the Indian States should be brought into constitutional relations with British India, and the peoples of the Indian States should be

¹ Sitarammayya, 1015-1016

² Archer, *India and the Future*, 53

³ *Indian Round Table Conference*, Nov. 1930 to Jan. '31, 400.

⁴ Hyndman, *The Awakening of Asia*, 216 ff.

assigned a definite place and effective voice in all matters of common concern in any new constitution that may be devised for the whole of India.¹



H. The Awakening of Indian Womanhood

The awakening of Indian womanhood marks a new epoch in the history of India. For the first time in the annals of India, tens of thousands of Indian women have come forward to take their rightful place to lead India out of her social and political chaos. Thousands of them entered colleges and universities, and soon, India found in them excellent educators, doctors, nurses and social workers. Two generations ago, their condition was medieval and backward. To-day, the educated women of India could hold their own among the most progressive women of the world. They are some of the greatest advocates of social reform.

This awakening is not peculiar to one community or section of India. The women of India have contributed a great deal to the making of modern Indian history. Though they are still strated under many social, economic, political and legal disabilities, feminism has come to stay, and it has already achieved marvellous results in emancipating the womanhood of India from many a.

¹ Brockway, *The Indian Crisis*, 80.

shackle. It must not be, however, misconstrued that Indian women have cut off all connections with the past. Sometimes, the past forms the basis of the future ; it is the spring-board of action and inspiration. The revolutionary temper among the women of India draws not a little inspiration from the heritage of India. An American writer observed, 'Could a group of Western women in one breath name their ideal woman, I wonder? In India the answer would spring instantaneously from a hundred and twenty million Hindu women—Sita the central star in the great galaxy including Savitri, Draupadi, Damayanti and Shakuntala and more. Sita is not merely a legend, but a living force in India. Here is a name that has been spoken millions upon millions of times. Her presence intangibly pervades every household. She is the undimmed, unchanged Hindu ideal of womanhood.'¹

The part played by women in the movement for freedom could never be over-estimated. Two decades back, Gandhi wrote, 'The women of India have during the past twelve months worked wonders on behalf of the Motherland.'² Jinnah, addressing the Aligarh University students, urged his audience to emancipate Indian Muslim womanhood, and declared that progress was practically impossible without the co-operation of women.³ The Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian and Parsee women—all of them have taken an equal share in serving the country. During the Non-co-operation movement, 1930-'32, women were some of the worst sufferers. 'The women were savagely set upon, beaten or insulted by the police with the object of preventing them from participating, or to frighten them and others from such activities.'⁴ They were taken to lonely places and were left there without any help. They were beaten ; they were abused, raped and assaulted. They were molested in many places. By severe ordeals and untold

¹ Emerson, *Voiceless India*, 374

² Gandhi, *Young India*, 756 ff

³ Noman, *Muslim India*, 338

⁴ *Condition of India*, 194 ff

suffering they prepared the way for a better and happier day in India.

The boycott programme was drastically carried on with the help of women. 'The picketing of liquor shops had been done to a very large extent by women and is an indication of the extent to which the nationalist movement has changed the order of things in India. No more than persuasion is employed, but in the picketing of liquor shops women volunteers face insults from prospective customers as well as beatings by the police.'¹ Seclusion and purdah were abandoned, and women came out in the open to suffer the privations of prison life. Srimati Satyawati, one of the women leaders, at her trial in Delhi, said, 'We have abandoned our homes and children to redeem our Motherland from foreign bondage, and neither the threat of the dungeons nor of bullets and the merciless beatings can deter us from the duty which we owe to ourselves and the coming generations. I and thousands of my sisters are ready to suffer, but we must win India's freedom.'²

Once, five hundred women were seen picketing shops selling foreign cloth. They did not mind lathi charges. Their part was so heroic that a foreign observer wrote, 'Public feeling, even among the Moderates and Europeans, is deeply stirred.' The wives and daughters of Indians with Knighthoods and other titles cabled a protest to Queen Mary.³ Brailsford who toured India during this revolutionary period exclaimed, 'One heard, wherever one went, the ripping of curtains and veils. The Congress movement beckoned the women to every form of national service, and with courage and devotion they answered its call. They spoke at its mass demonstrations. They did most of the picketing work. They went in thousands to prison. They were often chosen as the "dictators" of the local committees, and even before this exceptional year, Mrs. Naidu, the poetess, had been President of Congress. All this was

¹ *Ibid.*, 401 ff

² Brockway, 163.

³ *Ibid.*, 165.

interesting enough in Bombay, which has never had the purdah system for Hindu women; it was startling in the North. At Meerut, which is far from being an advanced or exceptional town, the women met together to consider how they should protest against Gandhi's arrest. Nothing seemed adequate save a procession: but they had lived all their lives in purdah. Out of it they came without hesitation, and four or five thousand walked openly through the streets. They never went back to their seclusion. I found them foremost in every public activity, and the men paid them the most generous tributes.¹ As in Russia, the women of India have been exceedingly active participants in the revolutionary movement.² Very recently, we have heard of Dr. Lakshmi Swaminathan, an attractive woman of twenty-seven from Madras, organising a regiment in Malaya and heading it as Lt.-Colonel to fight for national freedom.³ A few years ago, a young Bengali woman attempted the life of the governor of the province in open daylight. Bina Das was prepared to sacrifice her life for the sake of freedom. To-day, Mrs. Asaf Ali, a fearless character, openly advocates a radical change in the *status quo*. With the co-operation of women revolutionaries, Indian nationalism has become more drastic and radical.

Co-education in schools, colleges and universities is making great headway. Women often participate in tea-parties and social gatherings. A new relationship between men and women has come about. Tens of thousands of young men and women are to be seen in the gardens, coffee shops, and cinema theatres. 'One marked the effects of this new relationship of equality even in the matrimonial advertisements, which are numerous in Indian newspapers. It can hardly be, one supposes, the more sensitive or self-respecting families which use this modern substitute for the traditional match-maker, and yet these advertisements usually

¹ Brailsford, *Rebel India*, 96

² Durant, *The Case for India*, 144.

³ *Forum*, Bombay, Oct. 14, 1945, 23.

boasted of the girl's schooling. Often the young man asked for a companion who would be his equal in education and occasionally the advertiser declared his or her readiness to ignore caste rules in choosing a mate.¹

Mention was already made of the social and public service that women have been rendering in the various centres of India. Women's part in art and industry is becoming more and more prominent. Physical, literary and scientific education is attracting their widespread attention. The contribution of women to the growing Indian literature of the times is of no mean importance.²

Even the Simon Commission had to take note of the women's activities. 'The women members, we believe, have done useful work as legislators. One of them was responsible for the passage in Madras of the important measure known as the Devadasi Bill, which endeavours to deal with the dedication to temples of girls, most of whom live a life of prostitution.'³ The All-India Women's Educational Conference, the Seva Sadan Society founded by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Women's Medical Service, National Council of Women, the Women's Indian Association and the All-India Women's Conference are devoting their time and energy along creative lines. By their own agitation, they have practically removed all sex disqualifications; they have been franchised as much as men have been, and they enjoy equality in the administrative and legislative institutions. As the women of India face the future,⁴ they are looking forward to the removal of all economic and legal disabilities. They are demanding rational and equitable laws relating to marriage, divorce and custody of children and the removal of all social disabilities. The abolition of prostitution by providing honourable means of livelihood for all is one of their objectives. Child marriage, purdah

¹ Brailsford, 97.

² Macnicol, *The Heritage of India: Poems by Indian Women*; Nehru, *Our Cause: A Symposium by Indian Women*.

³ Simon Report, I, 49 ff.

⁴ Chattopadhyaya, 'Future of Indian Women's Movement', *Our Cause*, 385 ff.

and the disabilities of widowhood have no future. They are endeavouring to insure for their kind a sense of economic security. Their aim in the political field is largely to wipe out poverty, degradation, and insecurity. The right to motherhood, freedom in sex life, free access to contraceptives and emotional and intellectual sublimation are goals towards which Indian women are slowly but steadily pressing forward. 'The women's movement in India holds the key of progress, and the results it may achieve are incalculably great.'¹

We cannot better conclude these few pages on Indian womanhood than by reminding ourselves of what Mrs. Annie Besant wrote forty years ago : 'Indian greatness will not return until Indian womanhood obtains a larger, a freer, and a fuller life, for largely in the hands of Indian women must lie the redemption of India. The wife inspires or retards the husband ; the mother makes or mars the child. The power of woman to uplift or debase man is practically unlimited, and men and women must walk forward hand-in-hand to the raising of India, else will she never be raised at all.'²

¹ *Simon Report*, I, 53, Dr (Mrs.) S. M. Reddi, *Presidential Address*, The Fifth All-India Women's Conference, 1931, 30 ff.

² Besant, *For India's Uplift* (2nd Ed.), 74.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NATION-STATE



1. Public Opinion

Indian public opinion merely expresses the birth pangs of the nation-state. There is not a single political party which is not in favour of Indian independence. The Congress, the Muslim League, the Indian Christian Association, the Sikhs, the Liberals, the Hindu Mahasabha, the non-Party leaders, the Unionists, the Communists, and the Depressed classes—all stand united on one issue, the complete independence of India. Whatever their political programme or views may be, on the question of independence the agreement is unanimous. They may disagree on the question of socialism, communism or capitalism; they may violently differ from one another on the issue of Central and Provincial subjects; and there may be utter discord on the question of representation; but all speak the same language as far as the establishment of a national government exclusively by and responsible to Indians.¹ The future constitution for India

¹ Sapru Committee's *Constitutional Proposals* which represent a cross section of Indian opinion regarding the type of constitution that India immediately needs, are comprehensive as they are mature.

may be a most controversial subject. Many years ago, Lala Lajpat Rai¹ made the following observations which correspond to the public opinion of his day and which, even his bitterest political opponents, may not deny or contradict :—

1. That the present constitution of the Government of India is viciously autocratic, bureaucratic, antiquated and unsatisfying.
2. That India has, in the past, been governed more in the interests of, and by, the British merchant and the British aristocrat than in the interests of her own people.
3. That the neglect of India's education and industries has been culpably tragic.
4. That India is politically united in demanding a far-reaching measure of self-determination.
5. That she will not be satisfied with paltry measures of political reform which do not give her power to shape her fiscal policy in her own interests independent of control from London.
6. That it is useless further to harp on the 'cleavages' of race, religion and language, in dealing with the problem of India.
7. That the country is no longer prepared to let methods of coercion pass and take effect without making their protest and dislike known to the authorities in a manner, the significance of which may not be open to misunderstanding.

When the Simon Commission visited India in 1928, public opinion was so aroused against it that the Commission was boycotted in every city and town. There were black flags and demonstrations wherever the Commission went. The Indian press was merely voicing the public sentiment when it severely criticised the racial composition of the members of the Commission. There was not a single Indian on the Commission. Likewise, when the Prince of Wales visited Madras in 1922, he

¹ Lajpat Rai, *The Political Future of India*, p. vi, xx ff.

had to drive through empty streets. The Simon Commission noted, 'All alike are in sympathy with the demand for equal status with the European and proclaim their belief in self-determination for India.'¹ The Commission goes on to say, 'until the demands of nationalism have been reasonably met enthusiasts for various reforms make common cause with every discontented element, and attribute all the evils which they attack to the absence of self-government.'²

The Partition of Bengal was given up because of an overwhelming public opinion against it. The Minto-Morley Reforms were an outcome of the terrorist movement on the one hand and public demand for political reforms on the other. Montagu was forced to declare in August, 1917, that the object of His Majesty's Government was the introduction of self-governing institutions in India. This was largely owing to war conditions and the public pressure brought on to bear on the British Government by India's whole-hearted support in the war-effort. The London Round Table Conferences and the Government of India Act of 1935 were forced upon Britain by world opinion. Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the War Cabinet, came out to India in the spring of 1942 bringing with him the Draft Declaration of the British Government. The Draft Declaration announced the proposal for the formation of an Indian Union 'which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.'³ Generally no Government wishes to part with power; Britain, which was engaged in a life and death struggle, wanted the goodwill and support of the Indian people, and wanted to do everything in her power to appease India and the Indian opinion. The British Government in India which was absolutely auto-

¹ *Simon Report*, I, 408.

² *Ibid.*, 409.

³ *Hindustan Times*, Special Annual Number, 1942, 103.

cratic almost to the end of 1919 was prepared to accept a constitution framed by a Constituent Assembly twenty-five years later owing to changed conditions. All these instances go to prove that a great change had come over India, and also in the British attitude to India.

Read any newspaper in India whether owned by foreign or Indian interests. We see the manifestations of public opinion everywhere, and we are apt to come across many instances when voices were raised against a public action affecting the people adversely. Students, teachers, professors, Hindus, Muslims, men, women, young and old have made their mark on the public life. The action of Britain in Palestine and the attitude of President Truman to the Jewish question are being severely criticised today. The use of Indian troops in suppressing the nationalist movements in South Eastern Asia is condemned as an outrageous act. The release of all Indian National Army men is demanded and the I.N.A. week is solemnly observed by millions. Racial discrimination in the colonies and Dominions is greatly resented. Sympathy for the suppressed people of Java is daily expressed. India's friendship with China is advocated. Socialism is preached from one end of the country to the other as a remedy for all our economic evils. Citizenship rights in the U.S.A. are earnestly solicited. A nation-wide attempt is made to put an end to the ravages of famine. The dowry system and child marriage are criticised. Relief for the agricultural classes is sought after. The proletarian movement is encouraged. Every attempt is made to co-ordinate public opinion in a common endeavour to advance the progress of India. The repeal of the Prohibition Act by the Madras Government aroused a storm of protest from more than 24 labour organizations in Madras.¹ The 'Quit India' slogan emphatically expresses the popular sentiment as no other slogan in recent times has done.²

¹ *Modern Review*, January, 1944, 1.

² Mahatma Gandhi, *Quit India*, 1 ff.

The Government is often accused of adopting the policy of 'divide and rule'.¹ The reconstruction of India in the political, social and economic spheres has completely arrested the attention of the thinking population. But every question concerning India is overshadowed by and subservient to the unanimous demand for independence. 'We feel that loyalty for us consists in loyalty to the idea of the Indian nation, politically, economically and intellectually free; that is, we believe in India for the Indians; but if we do so, it is not merely because we want our own India for ourselves but because we believe that every nation has its own part to play in the long tale of human progress, and that nations, which are not free to develop their individuality and own character, are also unable to make the contribution to the sum of human culture which the world has a right to expect of them'.²

2. The Unity of India

The birth of the state is revealed by the emphasis laid on the unity of India. 'It (the British rule) has given to India that which throughout the centuries she has never possessed, a Government whose authority is unquestioned in any part of the sub-continent'.³ This declaration by the Joint Committee on the Indian Constitutional Reform can hardly be contradicted. The whole of India has come under the sway of one power and one government. A national system of laws operating throughout the length and breadth of the country has come into existence. An administrative machinery makes itself felt by the inhabitants of the country. 'A sense of political unity has been thereby created and there have emerged the beginnings of a sense of nationality, transcending as it would seem, the profound divisions of race, language and religion, and based upon the

¹ *Ibid.*, 10; Gandhi, *Quit India*, 16 ff.

² Coomaraswamy, *Essays in National Idealism*, 2.

³ Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform (Session 1933-34), Vol. I, Part II, *Proceedings*, 3.

conception of India as the common heritage of all her peoples.¹

The introduction of English as the official language since 1835, and the spread of the English language throughout India have added strength and momentum to the uninterrupted political unity that India has enjoyed from 1858. 'It is a similar reflection that in the English tongue Indian nationalists have found the most convenient vehicle for the public discussion and inter-change of their political ideas, but none can fail to appreciate its significance.'² Thus, the British rule has been in many ways directly responsible for the political unity of India. 'In the days when there were few roads and no railways, it was impossible for a central power to hold its lieutenants in control, and an empire was no sooner formed than it began to disintegrate. But roads, railroads and telegraphs have changed all that. The British rule, bringing these things with it, reduced India to a manageable size. It has made unity a political as well as a geographical and spiritual fact, and it has thereby begotten a sentiment of unity which it is folly to ridicule as fictitious or denounce as seditious.'³ India, which for ages refused to be governed by a single power, has achieved for herself that political and administrative unity hardly surpassed by any other country.

Her geographical unity is beyond all dispute. Disinterested foreign writers have emphasised her physical unity as one of India's most distinguishing features. Her geographical boundaries are better marked than those of the U.S.A., Germany, or Turkey. 'India is one of the most clearly marked geographical units in the world. Nature could scarcely have individualized her better if, instead of half island, she had made her a whole island.' Archer continues, 'To the naked eye, so to speak, examining the map of the world, India seems rather conspicuously a geographic unit. She holds in Asia a position curiously analogous to that of Italy in

¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

² *Ibid.*, 4-5.

³ Archer, *India and the Future*, 53-54.

Europe. She is the mid-most of three southward-stretching peninsulas ; she has a great island attached to her toe ; and her northern river-plains are bastioned by a gigantic mountain range, the highest in the continent. We now hold Italy beyond all question a national unit ; but little more than half a century ago, theorists were declaring that she could never be one.¹ Lord Bryce emphatically stated that 'no other of the great countries of the world is protected by such a stupendous line of national entrenchments as India possesses in the chain of the Himalayas.'²

On the other hand one may say that the North is divided from the South by the Vindhya and Satpuras ; that the Maratha country is largely situated on the hills and valleys unlike the rest of India ; that Assam is almost cut off from the main body of India ; that the tribal areas in the north-west of India have a peculiar feature of their own ; that the Punjab is clearly marked by the five rivers ; that there are plains both on the East and West between the sea and the mountain ranges ; and that Central India is altogether different from the rest of India in physical features. The Cambridge historian of India would answer these arguments that 'the one clear unity which India has preserved throughout history is geographical. In no other part of the world, unless perhaps in South America, are the physical features on a grander scale. Yet nowhere else are they more simply combined into a single natural region.'³ Sir W. W. Hunter emphasised the isolation of India and emphatically stated, 'The vastness and the isolation of India, walled out by the Himalayas from the rest of the world, and projected nearly two thousand miles into the ocean, enable the elemental forces to carry on the work, with but slight interruptions from local and variable causes. . . . The British nation has built up a united India. But it is only in these last days that modern man, with the

¹ *Ibid.*, 43-53.

² Bryce, *The Roman and the British Empire*, 15.

³ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, 1.

aid of railway, the steamship, and the telegraph, is in India emerging victorious from the long struggle with nature. The dream of the Mughal Emperors has become the reality of British rule.¹ Any contention that British India and the Indian States are two isolated geographical entities, is counteracted by an authoritative official statement when the Simon Commission noted that 'a glance at the map of India will show how clearly the States and British India are inter-woven. . . . There is an essential unity in diversity in the Indian peninsula regarded as a whole.'²

Since the Pakistan issue has become so acute in the last few years, British politicians while emphasising the unity of India have not failed to encourage both the interested parties. The British Draft Declaration conceded to the provinces the right to secede while Viceroy after Viceroy, in order, perhaps, to satisfy the Hindu sentiments, has laid stress on the geographical unity of India. Lord Linlithgow, in the course of his speech at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers, said, 'Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past, nay, more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and legitimate claims of the minorities, whether these minorities be great or small. That this would be desirable no one, gentlemen, can doubt who tests that proposition in terms of foreign policy, of tariff policy, of defence policy, of industrial development.'³ Talking of conserving the geographical unity of India seems absurd especially when it is an undisputed point. But what apparently is more absurd is the emphasis on the relation between the geographical unity of India on the one hand and full justice for the rights and legitimate claims of the minorities on the

* ¹ Hunter, 'Some Human Aspects of Indian Geography', *Contemporary Review*, L.IV, 783, 785, 792.

† ² Simon Report, II, 10.

* ³ Linlithgow, *Tribune*, Lahore, December 18, 1942.

other. Further, the minorities are scattered all over India! Lord Wavell, in his first political speech in the Central Legislative Assembly, laid stress on the geographical unity of India, and said, 'You cannot alter geography.'¹

The existence of racial, social and cultural homogeneity and unity was clearly pointed out in the concluding sections of the fourth chapter. Unity, in these realms, is obvious and uncontestable. Racial inter-mingling has been going on in India for thousands of years, and the social and cultural history of India is definitely older than that of the nations of Europe. At least, the culture and civilisation of India are as old as that of China in the East and certainly older than that of Greece in the West.

There are some outstanding scholars who do not ascribe the unity of India to the British rule or to other factors made inevitable by the contact of nations and the progress of science. They contend that Indian unity has been a basic phenomenon throughout her history. India was looked upon as a single unit by all foreigners for at least three thousand years. The very name 'India' had its origin among the Persians. 'Aryavarta' meant the land of the Aryans—India. 'Bharata Varta' signified the whole country. Vincent A. Smith, the Oxford historian of India, is of opinion that 'the political unity of all India, although never attained perfectly in fact, always was the ideal of the people throughout the centuries. The conception of the universal sovereign as the Chakravartin Raja runs through Sanskrit literature and is emphasised in scores of inscriptions. The story of the gathering of the nations to the battle of Kuruk-Shetra, as told in the *Mahabharata*, implies the belief that all the Indian peoples including those of the extreme South, were united by real bonds and concerned in interests common to all. . . . India therefore possesses, and always has possessed for considerably more than two thousand years, ideal political unity . . . India beyond all doubt possesses a deep underlying fun

¹ *Modern Review*, March, 1944, 163.

damental unity, far more profound than that produced either by geographical isolation or by political suzerainty. That unity transcends the innumerable diversities of blood, colour, language, dress, manners and sect.¹

The same opinion was voiced by Joseph Cunningham many decades ago when he wrote, 'Hindustan, moreover, from Caubul to the valley of Assam, and the island of Ceylon, is regarded as one country, and dominion in it is associated in the minds of the people with the predominance of one monarch or one race.'² According to Smith, the penetrating influence of Hinduism, the cult of rivers, places of pilgrimage all over India, the existence of sacred cities in different parts of India, the universal recognition of the *Vedas* and the worship of common deities have done much to mould India into a united whole. The same point of view is held by at least two Indian scholars: R. K. Mookerji's stress on the fundamental unity of India is emphatic.³ Atulanand Chakrabarti⁴ and Chandra Chakrabarty⁵ have constantly drawn attention to the affinity, intimacy and social solidarity that exist among the people of India.

Indian economy, from time immemorial, has not varied much except in the last three decades. It has given India a uniformity and unity that have endured throughout the ages. The immensity and variety in the physical features of India with mountains, hills, valleys, rivers and plains have largely contributed to her economic self-sufficiency. It was largely owing to the unity of India in political, social, cultural, geographical and economic realms that India always presented herself to her own people and to outsiders as a single national unit. Lord Wavell, not very long ago, pointed out that 'from the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside

¹ Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, pp. IX-X.

² Cunningham, *The History of the Sikhs*, 283.

³ Mookerji, *The Fundamental Unity of India*, 14 ff.

⁴ Chakrabarti, *Cultural Fellowship in India*, 32 ff.

⁵ Chakrabarty, *National Problems*, 153-154.

world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a national unity.'¹ The Simon Commission was fully conscious of the fact that the economic unity in the country was a potent argument for federation.²

The problem of industrial development faces the country as a whole. The interests of this or that Indian state or province are giving place to the interests of the entire population. Co-operation among all sections of the country has been found to be indispensable in such vital matters as monetary policy, labour regulation, customs, communication, mobilization of the material forces for the common good of all, and economic planning.³ Economic planning, whether by the Congress, Government, Radical Democratic Party or independent industrialists (Bombay Plan), is visualized for the whole of India. The post-war development of India on moral, material and intellectual lines comprehends every section of India. 'Economic forces are such that the States and British India must stand or fall together. The steady growth of transport facilities has inevitably brought the States into closer contact with British India and with each other, while the forces at work in the modern world are such as to affect even the remotest and the most primitive state.'⁴ The official policy of the Government of India prior to 1939, and even afterwards, has been to preserve the economic and material unity of India. 'Railways, steamships, and the immediate transmission of news, have for many years past joined India to the general economic system of the world and made her one of the constituents of the world markets.'⁵ Jawaharlal Nehru practically holds the same point of view. 'India, as it is, contains nearly all the important elements and resources that can make her a strong and more or less self-sufficient nation. To cut

¹ Wavell, *Modern Review*, March 1944, 163.

² *Simon Report*, II, 11.

³ The Congress Plan, the Bombay Plan, the People's Plan and the Government Plan, and also many other independent plans.

⁴ *Simon Report*, II, 11.

⁵ *India in 1927-28*, 276.

her up will be from the economic point of view, as well as others, a fatal thing, breaking up that national economic unity and weakening each part.'¹

3. The Dawn of the Nation-State

In a comprehensive definition, an eminent political scientist like Garner states that the essential constituent elements of the state are : first, a group of persons associated together for common purposes ; second, the occupation of a determinate portion of the earth's surface which constitutes the homeland of the population ; third, independence from foreign control ; and fourth, a common supreme authority or agency through which the collective will is expressed or enforced.² Laski and MacIver are largely in agreement with this definition.³ Many other political scientists state the same thing in a different way. Practically, all of them agree on the fundamentals.

Then the question arises, 'To what extent is India a nation-state?' In the first place, the population of India is proverbially large, and long before the European peoples started settling down in North and South America, India's population was indeed numerous, and they inhabited the whole country. As was already pointed out 'all the Indians have been Indians, and as such, definitely related to each other and distinguished from the rest of the world, for a much longer time than Englishmen have been English, Frenchmen French, or Germans German.' To all practical purposes, India, therefore, loomed one undivided unit to the rest of the world. Indians have been a distinct social group for the last four thousand years. To-day, they are a distinct national group as much as the Germans, English, Americans or Russians are, and in some respects, more distinct than most of the peoples of the world. 'Ere yet the Pyramids

¹ Nazir Yar Jung, *The Pakistan Issue*, 117.

² Garner, *Political Science and Government*, 53.

³ Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, 21; MacIver, *The Modern State*, 22ff.

looked down the valley of the Nile—when Greece and Italy, those cradles of European civilization, nursed only the tenants of the wilderness—India was the seat of wealth and grandeur. A busy population had covered the land with the marks of its industry; rich crops of the most coveted productions of nature annually rewarded the toil of the husbandman; skilful artisans converted the rude produce of the soil into fabrics of unrivalled delicacy and beauty; and architects and sculptors joined in constructing works, the solidity of which has not, in some instances, been overcome by the revolution of thousands of years.¹

Secondly, India has been the home of the people of India for hundreds of years. Her people have attracted the attention of the rest of the world from time immemorial. 'Of all the countries on the Asiatic continent, India, from the earliest ages, has excited the greatest interest, and enjoyed the highest celebrity . . . It is also extremely probable that it was, if not the first, at least one of the earliest seats of civilization, laws, arts and all the improvements of social life.'² The same author, writing nearly four generations back, went on to say, 'If wealth and large population made it one of the principal objects of ambition to these great conquerors who aimed at universal empire; its fabrics, the most beautiful that human art has anywhere produced, were sought by merchants, at the expense of the greatest toils and dangers, and the manners of its people, as well as the maxims of its sages, had something original and peculiar, which strongly excited philosophical inquiry.'³ The Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization that Sir John Marshall excavated throws much light on the highly developed culture and community life of the people of India five thousand years ago.⁴ Sir Theodore Morison of our own time who levelled the devastating criticism, that 'We (the British) have

¹ Thornton, E., *History of the British Empire in India*, I, 3-4.

² Murray, *History of British India*, 17, 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 48.

⁴ Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, p. V.

never aimed at the creation of a national sentiment in India, and with the best of intentions have founded institutions which have a disintegrating tendency,"¹ concluded that 'the Muhammadans, the Sikhs, the Parsis and some Hindu castes are knit together by ties, which resemble in some ways the ties of nationality.'²

India, therefore, does possess a homogeneous people, and she is, and has been for ages, the home of the people now known as Indians. India has been the homeland of the Indians for a longer time than any other country in Europe, America, Africa or Australia has been for any other people known to history. For the past seven thousand years, she never lacked a permanent and distinct social group which has been conscious of its identity as well as of its numerical strength. In the third place, India does possess a well organized government to which the great body of her inhabitants render habitual obedience. It may be stated without any fear of contradiction that the rule of law is supreme in India and that, either for good or evil, the well organized governmental machinery is second to no other government in keeping law and order. The British rule 'has given to India that which throughout the centuries she has never possessed, a government whose authority is unquestioned in any part of the sub-continent; it has barred the way against the foreign invader and has maintained tranquillity at home; it has established the rule of law; and, by the creation of a just administration and an upright judiciary, it has secured to every subject of His Majesty in British India the right to go in peace about his daily work and to retain for his own use the fruit of his labours.'³

The last and the most important test of her nationhood or statehood is the enjoyment of full sovereign rights and freedom from external control and domination. Garner is of opinion that if a country is nearly free from

¹ Morison, *Imperial Rule in India*, 7.

² *Ibid.*, 3.

³ Joint Committee on Indian Cons. Reforms. Vol. I, Part I, Report, 3.

foreign control, it may be said to possess statehood.¹ Further, political scientists are beginning to revise their opinion regarding the principle of absolute sovereignty. International law modifies the sovereign rights of a nation. 'It follows as a consequence that the absolute sovereignty of the state in its international relations is not only a legal fiction but a baneful and dangerous dogma which ought to be abandoned.'² A great many writers on political science and international law openly maintain that sovereignty is not an essential constituent element in the making of the state while others declare³ that in view of the coming world order—a forerunner of the world-state, state sovereignty, as an important factor in the evolution of a nation or statehood, must be altogether given up. Therefore, in determining the statehood for India, the question of her absolute freedom from external control must not form an altogether important factor although the absence of foreign control will greatly help the immediate attainment of her nationhood. However, in view of the pregnant future, for all practical purposes, India can be considered a nation. Her statehood is in the making, and there are signs that India's attainment of full statehood is a matter of only a few years. Even a most casual observer would never fail to note that life goes on in India as if under a sovereign state. But foreign domination will impair India's dignity as a state, and therefore, it must be ended.

On the other hand, Britain is pledged to the independence of India as are the political parties of India. 'The creation of a uniform system of administration throughout the British dominion in India; of the uniform code of law in all matters of the citizens relating to one another, or to the community as a whole; the establishment of the principle of absolute equality of all Indians before British tribunals; the adoption of an

¹ Garner, 52

² *Ibid.*, 193. See also Friedmann, *The Crisis of the National State*, 36 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 194 ff. Mattern, *Concepts of State, Sovereignty, and International Law*, 101 ff.

attitude of perfect neutrality in the social problems or religious concerns of the people ruled; the adoption of a single language of official intercourse and administration; all have led to the same consummation.'¹ T. R. Venkatarama Sastri is of the opinion that 'during the past one hundred and fifty years, this country has been slowly welded into one state and what was an ancient dream has been successfully converted into reality.'²

The coming of the perfect statehood may be delayed but it cannot be prevented. An unbiased and independent student of Indian politics rightly states, 'The state has at last come to its own in India. Society no longer bestrides the narrow world of public affairs as it did in the past. By means of social legislation, halting and infrequent though it has been, and administrative direction, the domination of caste has been considerably modified. Politics and not religion or philosophical speculation has become the favourite study of the intellectual classes. The very acts and omissions of the English rulers have provoked political activity such as the country had not known before.'³

4. Nationalism and State in the Atomic Age

Nationalism is not peculiar to India alone. It is not an exclusive Indian product. Nationalism is the spring board of almost every nation in the world, and the most significant emotional factor in the public life of every modern state is nationalism.⁴ It is a world phenomenon.⁵ Though the love of one's own country is as old as history,⁶ political and economic nationalism owing to political and economic impact is but a few hundred years

¹ Dalal, *Hither Minorities*, 63-64.

² Sastri, T. R. V., *Presidential Address*, Indian National Liberal Federation, 25th Session, 11.

³ Rathnaswamy, *The Making of the State*, 482.

⁴ McCully, B. T., 'Origins of Indian Nationalism according to Native writers,' *The Journal of Modern History*, Sept., 1935, 295.

⁵ Hayes, *Essays on Nationalism*, 1.

⁶ Stephens, H. M., 'Nationality and History,' *The American Historical Review*, XXI, 228, (Jan. 1916).

old. It is said that Machiavelli was the first nationalist, and consequently, the history of modern state system and the ideologies and ideas connected with such a system are hardly three hundred years old.¹ The partition of Poland, the French revolution, the Napoleonic wars, the Congress of Vienna, the hegemony of Germany, the Italian agitation from the papal, French and Austrian oppression, the revolt of the oppressed nationalities against the Turkish yoke, the American revolt against Britain, the Irish agitation against England and the rise of Japan added no mean incentive to the growth and development of the national cult.²

Nearly every war in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was fought in the interest of the nation-state.³ It is generally conceded by almost all the historians that the first World War was largely an outgrowth of nationalities and nation-states.⁴ But the cult of the nation-god never declined or deteriorated even after those terrible sacrifices of 1914 to 1918 when nearly nine million men lost their lives on the battlefield; three times that number were wounded; and nine million men were maimed for life in addition to an incalculable amount of moral and material loss.⁵ Even after this terrible holocaust that enveloped the world for four long years nationalism has not lessened its fury or its all-absorbing appetite. After the first World War, the Chinese, Indian, German, Bulgarian, Egyptian, Irish, Arab and Syrian nationalistic movements gathered much strength and momentum owing to the fact that their national aspirations were either frustrated or did not find any sublimation at all. France, Italy, the U.S.A., Britain and Japan, who were the victors and who were also materially benefited by the outcome of the war, were not less nationalistic or imperialistic after the war than before. The First World War

¹ Hayes, 6, 54-60.

Gettel, *History of Political Thought*, 424.

² Hayes, *Ibid*

³ Hayes, *op cit*, 135 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 137, 145 ff.

⁵ Slosson, *Europe Since 1870*, 439 ff.

and the causes that were responsible in bringing it about were mainly responsible for the Second World War which certainly caused greater damage in men, money and material than the previous one. The second cataclysm was unquestionably the most stupendous human folly that history ever enacted.

Further, it seemed as if the Marxian socialism of Lenin also had gone nationalistic under Stalin with his watch word, 'Socialism in one country.' The hunt for Trotsky and the later developments in Soviet Russia would convince even the most naive person that Soviet Russia, under Stalin, has, for the time being at least, replaced the love of the 'workers of the world' by the cult of the Fatherland.¹ After the Second World War, which was fought in the name of the Four Freedoms and the Atlantic Charter, the nation-state still looms great in human affairs. Sometimes nationalism parades in the garb of democracy. Fascism and imperialism together with the herd instinct of nationalism form an unholy trinity. Economic rivalries, growing armaments, imperialistic policies, chauvinism, restrictions on foreign immigration, tariffs, lip service to internationalism and international organizations, isolationism, separatist tendencies, tribal instinct, diplomatic intrigues, armed aggression and colonialism very clearly indicate that the nation-state still has millions upon millions of devotees.

Atomic energy made its formal appearance in the summer of 1945, and before its onslaught, the world trembled. Japan successfully fought Britain and America for more than three years and China for over seven years. The Japanese soldiers ranked second to none in morale and bravery. But Japan was brought to her knees by the atomic bomb to the great amazement of the entire world. The atom bomb which the Americans used for the first time in history is undoubtedly the most savage and unscrupulous weapon that man has so far wielded. The manufacturing of atomic energy is no longer a

¹ Thiemer, *An ABC of International Affairs*, read Articles under Stalin and Russia.

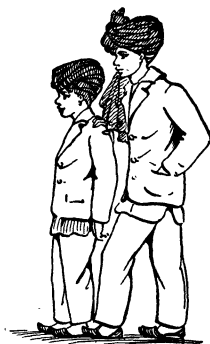
secret! The U.S.A., Britain and Canada, with the help of eminent scientists drawn from several nationalities perfected this technique. Actually hundreds of scientists must have been at work in the various stages of its development. Possibly, Russia also possesses this great secret. Any device the technique of which is known to hundreds of people is no secret at all.

One inference that any sane individual ought to be able to draw from the atom-ridden world is that the future of the nation-state is sealed. Small states, and even large countries like India and China, will have to live under the mercy of the atom-powers. The use of atom-energy for human destruction will be the end of civilization, and under the present circumstances when several countries share in the atom-secret, no one power will exclusively be able to use the same to enhance its own supremacy over the world. If the U.S.A. could not keep a few million Negroes under slavery, it cannot, nor can any other power, be able to subjugate the world permanently. The atom-age however, may pave the way for a world-state, and it would be the height of folly to fight against history's inevitable end. The nation-states, as yet, may find their consummation in the federation of the world, the parliament of man and the economic and social democracy based on mutual helpfulness.¹

Under these circumstances, isolationism or separatism is madness. Division is death. Unity is strength and wisdom. In the atom-age, to cut India into several independent states would be an utter political insanity. If united India could not defend herself against aggression, then, divided India will easily fall a prey to imperialism. But if Indian political unity and integrity are to be maintained intact, then the Hindus who cherish the unity of India should do everything in their power to make the hundred million Muslims of India feel proud to belong to an independent India where caste

¹ Lajpat Rai, *Unhappy India*, 486.

will never divide man against his brother and where there will be absolute social, economic and political equality—not merely on paper alone, but in spirit and in reality as well. In the last analysis, the emergence of the nation-state which seems to be an accomplished fact is fully dependent on the feeling of social solidarity on the part of the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, the Depressed classes and others who justly claim India as their homeland.



Come, my friend,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world
Though much is taken, much abides; and though
We are not now that strength which in old days
Moved earth and heaven, that which we are, we are
One equal temper of heroic hearts,
Made weak by time and fate, but strong in will
To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

—Tennyson.

CHAPTER IX

THE PAKISTAN ISSUE



1. The Idea and Its Background

From the beginning of history man has been closely attached to the land that gave him birth. The love of homeland has been one of the most irresistible instincts in him. Even highly emancipated or intellectual individuals have not been altogether free from this sentimental attachment to their country. 'Breathes there the man with soul so dead who never to himself hath said, This is my own, my native land.'¹ Such a verse as this one has inspired millions of people. The love of one's own country is generally known as patriotism, and it may manifest itself in nationalism.

The Jews were perhaps the first people to develop this passionate attachment to their native land. From the time the house of Israel was held in slavery in Egypt to this day, the Jews have been the most persecuted group in the history of the world. Centuries after Moses and Joshua led them on to the 'promised land', the Jews had a most unsettled life. It took many decades before they were free from internal menace. But no sooner did they get settled than they had to face the onslaught of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks

¹ Walter Scott, *Breathes there the man*.

and finally Romans who were masters over Palestine in turn. From the middle of the second part of the first century A.D. when the Romans drove them away from the Holy Land, the Jews had become a wandering people trying to secure shelter and employment in every land and clime. In most countries of the world, they refused to be absorbed by others largely because of their devotion to their homeland and temple. During this period they suffered untold miseries. The temple, now in ruins, symbolised their religion. Jerusalem where their kings had once held sway, and Palestine which gave birth to their fathers and mothers were memories which could not be blotted out. Several centuries before Christ, when they were in captivity in Babylon, they used to cry, saying, 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning.' The Jewish literature is full of such sentiments.¹

The forces that were responsible for creating this irresistible attachment of the Jews to what they called their homeland (the Arabs have lived in Palestine for a longer time than the Jews) are also at work in the modern world, particularly among the suppressed peoples. Hindus are passionately attached to India. Muslims are not an exception. Pakistan is an intense feeling among the Indian Muslims to have a homeland of their own in India; at least in those parts of India where they find themselves in the majority.² The passionate desire to establish a homeland where the Indian Muslims are in the majority is expressed by the term *Pakistan*. It is really the name of the would-be Muslim state or states in certain parts of India. Apart from the forces and factors that were made mention of, and these have been partially responsible for creating this desire, there are many social, economic, religious, political and cultural causes and circumstances that have intensified the feeling for and against Pakistan.

¹ Psalm, 137, v. 5

² This definition was given by Sir Feroze Khan Noon when he addressed the Forman College staff and students on the 18th October, 1945.

Pan-Islam, in some respects, represents this urge towards the formation of an Islamic state where Muslim solidarity could certainly be preserved. Pan-Islamic ideology started many decades ago, but the drift towards this ideology on the part of some distinguished Indian Muslims is of a very recent origin. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) expressed this sentiment when he told Sir Theodore Morison a few years before his death, 'If Turkey is conquered that will be a great grief, for she is the last of the great powers left to Islam. We are afraid that we shall become like the Jews, a people without a country of our own!'¹ His Highness the Aga Khan was one of the first advocates of Pan-Islamism. He wrote, 'Another point to be remembered is that while, under the old conditions the Muhammadans were doomed to be nothing but a one-fifth minority in an overwhelmingly Brahminical India, to-day, as the forces of disruption gain strength in Western Asia, it is not improbable that the South Asiatic Federation of tomorrow of which India must be the centre and the pivot, will contain not only 66½ millions of Indian Moslems, but the thirty or forty millions more Mussalmans inhabiting South Persia, Mesopotamia, Arabia and Afghanistan. If we turn from numbers to surface* of territory, the Islamic provinces of South Asia will be almost as great in extent as the India of yesterday. Hence there is little danger of the Muhammadans of India being nothing but a small minority in the coming federation There is a right and legitimate Pan-Islamism to which every sincere and believing Muhammadan belongs—that is, the theory of the spiritual brotherhood and unity of the children of the Prophet.'²

The Pan-Islamic movement gained strength and momentum immediately after the First World War. The Khilafat Movement launched to restore the Calif who was also the Sultan of Turkey, to his pre-war status

¹ Morison, 'Muhammadan Movements,' *Political India*, 95.

² Aga Khan, *India in Transition: A Study in Political Evolution*, 27, 156-157.

was torpedoed when Mustapha Kemal abolished the Khilafat in 1924.¹ The Calif was driven out of Turkey, and the Turkish statesmen abolished Islam as the state religion. Turkish break with Islam was a stunning blow to Pan-Islamism. Bey Burham Belge, Director of the Press Department in the Turkish Foreign Office, stated the attitude of Turkey clearly when he said, 'We in Turkey do not recognise India in terms of Hindus and Moslems. We have great respect for Indians and we sympathise with them as they sympathise with us. But I refuse to admit that the Moslems of India have any special claims on our sympathies and support . . . you must remember that the Turkish Government has abolished Theocracy and the religious rule of the Mullas and Moulavis long time ago.'²

But the idea of Pan-Islamism had captivated the imagination of thousands of Indian Muslims under the leadership of the Ali brothers. The late Maulana Mohammad Ali took a deputation to England and pleaded that the Prophet with his dying breath had bidden them preserve the Fazirat ul Arab (Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Palestine) under a purely Muslim government, and therefore, the mandates over them were contrary to the laws of Islam. But as a British Government statesman pointed out, 'These theological arguments had no influence over the Allies in Paris.'³ Meanwhile, on the advice of the Ali brothers, thousands of Indian Muslims left India to join their co-religionists in Afghanistan and elsewhere, and had to face untold suffering on the way. 'The road from Peshawar to Kabul was strewn with the graves of old men, women and children.'⁴ In the face of the unexpected attitude of Turkey, the indifference of the Allies to the Khilafat and the Muslim countries, the breakdown of the Khilafat Movement in India, the untold suffering of the Pan-Islamists who migrated from

¹ Beni Prasad, *Hindu-Muslim Questions*, 65-66.

² *Modern Review*, July, 1939, 6

³ Morison, *op. cit.*, 96

⁴ *Ibid.*, 97

India and the obvious impracticability and impossibility of establishing a Pakistan comprehending all the Muslims and Muslim countries, the Indian Muslims began to revise their ideology, and even Iqbal who once claimed that 'the problem of India is international, not national', had to change his point of view in the year immediately following this confused and tragic period.¹

The system of communal electorates under which the Muslims and a few other religious groups form a separate electoral roll and vote exclusively as a religious body was introduced by the British Parliament into the political life of the country. This system has worked havoc in India. And Pakistan is partly the child of the policy of 'native against native'.

2. From Allahabad to Lahore

It was on the 29th of December, 1930, that Sir Mohammad Iqbal, President of the All-India Muslim League, presiding over the 21st session of the League at Allahabad, first gave expression to the idea of Pakistan when he declared, 'I would like to see the Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims at least of North-West India. . . . It is actuated by a genuine desire for free development which is practically impossible under the type of unitary government contemplated by the nationalist Hindu politicians with a view to secure permanent communal dominance in the whole of India I therefore demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam.'² Though Iqbal publicly advocated the formation of a separate Muslim State, the two letters of Edward Thompson, published in *The Statesman and The Nation* stated on the authority of Sir Muhammad Iqbal that the

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Annual Register*, II, 1930, 338.

idea of Pakistan had not his (Iqbal's) approval.¹ Iqbal himself told Thompson that 'the Pakistan plan would be disastrous to the British Government, disastrous to the Hindu community, and disastrous to the Moslem community. But I am the President of the Moslem League and therefore it is my duty to support it.'²

In 1933, Chowdhary Rahmat Ali who is generally known as the 'Founder-President of the Pakistan National Movement,' introduced the 'Pak Plan' in his *Now or Never* pamphlet issued from Cambridge.³ 'He undertook the all-fateful task of transforming the cult of "Indianism" into the creed of "Islamism", the creed of "minority communalism" into the call of Muslim nationalism, the perilous position of Muslim territories as provinces of India into the safe status of Muslim fatherland of Pakistan, Bang-i-Islam, and of Usmanistan in South Asia, and finally, the old sense of frustration into a new hope for the fulfilment of Islamic mission.' In 1933, when the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee sounded some prominent Indian Muslims regarding Pakistan, Abdulla Yusuf Ali said, 'As far as I know it is only a students' scheme; no responsible people have put it forward'; Zafrullah Khan said that it was 'chimerical and impracticable', and Khalifa Shujauddin said that 'no such scheme had been considered by the representative gentlemen or association so far.'⁴

Even as late as 1935, Jinnah 'decried Rahmat Ali, dubbed him an irresponsible person and characterised his plan (Pak Plan) as a crazy scheme.'⁵ But in return, Rahmat Ali characterised the Muslim Leaguers including Jinnah 'as a crowd of mealy-mouthed careerists' and its Council as a 'clique of manipulators, some of whom owed their political, and others, their material, positions

¹ Presidential Address, Indian National Liberal Federation, The Twenty-fifth Session, Lahore, 1-15 March 1945, 8.

² Thompson, *India for Freedom*, 58.

³ Chowdhary Rahmat Ali, *The Millat and the Mission*, 4 ff.

⁴ Ahmad, *The Founder of Pakistan*, 3 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 19.

to British patronage.¹ According to Rahmat Ali, 'Iqbal was a poor politician; he betrayed' by action what he blessed in word'; Iqbal never was in favour of Pakistan and he 'opposed it secretly.'² As late as 1940, Rahmat Ali wanted to 'scrap the All-India Muslim League as such.'³ To him, 'Pakistan' means the land of the Paks. The word Pak—pure, clear cannot be adequately translated into English. It stands for all that is noble and sacred in life for a Muslim. 'The name "Pakistān", which has come to be applied—though not officially—to the five Muslim provinces in the North-West of the present day India, is composed of letters taken from the names of its components Panjab, North-West Frontier (of which the inhabitants are mainly Afghans), Kashmir, Sindh, and Baluchistan. These territories were christened *Pakistan* by C. Rahmat Ali, founder of the Pakistan National Movement, in 1933, with a view to their preserving their historical, national, and cultural entity, as distinct from Hindustan proper.'⁴

The Muslim League officially took to the Pakistan creed only in 1940 though it omitted the word Pakistan altogether and cleverly left it undefined in the so-called Pakistan resolution. On the 22nd of March, 1940, M. A. Jinnah, presiding over the 27th annual session of the League at Lahore, said, 'The Hindus and Moslems have different religious philosophies, social customs, and literature. They neither inter-marry nor dine together, and indeed they belong to two different civilizations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their views on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Moslems derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and they have different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats

¹ *Ibid*

² *Ibid*

³ C. Rahmat Ali, *The Millat of Islam and the Menace of Indianism*, 16.

⁴ F. Krenkow, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Supp. No. 4 p. 174 (London, 1937).

C. Rahmat Ali, *Now or Never*, 1 ff.

overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state—must lead to growing discontent and final destruction.” On the 23rd of March, Fazl-ul-Huq, the Premier of Bengal, amid the cheers—Sherrai-Bengal Zindabad—moved the ‘Pakistan’ resolution :—

‘Resolved that it is the considered view of this session of the All-India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

‘That adequate and effective and mandatory safeguards should be specially provided in the constitution for minorities in the units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

‘This session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communication, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.’²

Fazl-ul-Huq who moved this resolution, is no longer a member of the League, and the constitution, which the Working Committee was to frame, has not seen the light.

¹ *The Indian Annual Register*, 1940, I, 309
² *Ibid.*, 311-312

But just as the Congress had often demanded the right to self-determination, the Muslim League too, in the name of the Muslims, now demanded the right for the Muslim majority provinces to secede from the rest of India to form one or more independent and sovereign states.

This is not the place to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of Pakistan. Literally, hundreds of resolutions have been passed condemning it or praising it. Books¹ have been written for and against Pakistan. Propaganda is rife everywhere, and the advocates and enemies of the Pakistan Scheme have filled the air with both their rationality and irrationality. The Pakistan issue has resulted in a widespread mental lunacy on all sides. Pakistan may result in prosperity and happiness or in chaos and confusion. A discussion on the wisdom or folly of the Pakistan Scheme may lead us to nowhere, and a dispassionate study of the subject is not possible just at present. And there are few people who have fully understood the implications of such a scheme. The political, economic, social, religious and international consequences have not been fully and impartially investigated. Passing resolutions for or against the Pakistan demand only makes confusion worse confounded. Only a few months ago, Dr. Syed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad said, 'Any body who has even superficially studied the Two-Nation Theory will realize that economically and from the standpoint of defence Pakistan will divide the Muslim community or nation permanently into several divisions.'² Such objections against Pakistan will not alter the fact that there is a growing demand for Pakistan, and they have not. Neither has the increasing demand for Pakistan brought it any nearer.

¹ Prasad, R., *India Divided*
Virendra, *Pakistan, A Myth or Reality*.
Coupland, R., *The Future of India*.
Pakistan Literature Series, 1 to 6.
Khan, A. M., *Communalism in India*
Ansari, *Pakistan, The Problem of India*

² *Statesman*, October 17, 1945, 5.

3. Who is Against Pakistan?

If Pakistan is the name for the future Muslim state or homeland that the Muslims passionately desire, who is going to bring it about ; how is it going to come about ; and what are the Muslim League and Ch. Rahmat Ali doing to establish it? On whom is the demand made, and who are refusing to grant it? Iqbal's as well as the attitude of most Muslims to the question of Indian independence is that if the Congress agreed to the Pakistan idea, then, the Muslims would cordially co-operate with the Hindus and others in winning independence from Britain. 'If the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homeland is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India.'¹ This is largely the present attitude of the Muslim League, although it was noted that Iqbal paid only lip service to Pakistan.

It must be said to the credit of all those sincere Muslims in the rank and file of the Muslim League that they have stated their case quite clearly. They have also, directly or indirectly, referred to the parties involved in the issue and offered conditional co-operation in the task of winning freedom for India. But Chowdhary Rahmat Ali neither in his earlier writings nor in his recent pamphlets that he has sent out from England, has given any hint as to how Pakistan was to be achieved.² Repeatedly, he has condemned and criticised the British Government, the Hindu nationalists, the Muslim delegates at the R.T.C., Iqbal the politician and the Muslim Leaguers in turn. But he himself has not presented any concrete plan of action. In his own words, 'Our brave and voiceless nation is being sacrificed on the altar of Hindu

¹ *Annual Register*, 1930, II, 337

² Rahmat Ali, *Now or Never*, issued from Cambridge on the 28th of January, 1933 and the letter he wrote from Cambridge on the same subject was dated the 8th July, 1935. His other pamphlets were made mention of earlier in this chapter

nationalism not only by the non-Muslims, but to the lasting disgrace of Islam, by our own so-called leaders, with reckless disregard to our future and in utter contempt of the teachings of history. The Indian Muslim Delegation at the Round Table Conference have committed an inexcusable and prodigious blunder.¹ One of the first Muslims, if not the first, to expose this 'ecclesiastical imperialism' and 'political pan-Islamism' as an 'exploded myth' was Prof. Abdul Majid Khan of Lahore who characterised the Pakistan scheme as 'not only anti-national and anti-rational but also utterly un-Islamic.'² Both the Muslim League and Chowdhary Rahmat Ali, except for their verbosity and eloquence, have not taken one effective step so far towards the establishment of Pakistan.

Without entering into any controversies as to the justice or injustice of such a demand, let us assume that the Pakistan demand is a genuine one, and that it is the only way the Muslims could achieve their moral, material, emotional and intellectual sublimation. Even the most casual observer of Indian politics would realise that the Pakistan demand affects first of all the British Government and, secondly, the non-Muslims, and thirdly the Muslims of India. This demand, then, is being made on the British Government on the one hand and on the Indian National Congress on the other. Britain is the paramount power in India, and she does control the political power as well as the political development of India. The assumption on the part of most of those who demand Pakistan is that Britain, sooner or later, will part with political power. It is well to recollect that the British statesmen themselves, more than once, have declared to the world that the British Government would transfer power immediately after the end of the war if the Indian parties agreed among themselves as to how that power was to be shared. In view of this British stand, the Pakistan demand is made, one may take it, directly 'on'

¹ Rahmat Ali, *Now or Never*, 1 ff

² *The Tribune*, Lahore, 10-12-1933.

the Congress which has been staking its all for the control of political power that Britain is now prepared to part with in theory. The Pakistanees insist that the Congress, first of all, should concede the Muslim demand for Pakistan and then, with their (Muslim) co-operation, should demand the immediate transfer of political power from the British to Indian hands.

Britain cannot take back her promise of independence to the people of India. Lord Irwin, unequivocally declared that the British policy in India was towards the attainment of Dominion Status. The Draft Declaration that Cripps brought to India is most significant in two respects. The British Government accepted the demand for Indian independence and agreed to the creation of an independent Indian Union equal in every respect to the United Kingdom and the Dominions. Secondly, the British Government has agreed to the Pakistan demand by conceding the right to secede if a province so desired. 'The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution (of the Indian Union) to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession, if it so desires. With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.'¹ The British Government, thus, declared its position regarding the Pakistan demand, and escaped the indictment that it was selling the Muslims to the merciless Hindu majority at the Centre.

Then, what about the Congress attitude? Will the Congress, the most powerful political party in the country, agree to the division of India which the Pakistanees, so ardently desire? The Muslim League, it must be admitted, looks upon the Congress as a powerful Hindu organization with a limited number of non-Hindus here

¹ *The Hindustan Times*, Special Annual Number, 1942, 103.

and there, and does demand an answer from the Congress on the question of Pakistan as the Congress is the only party now left to concede or refuse the Pakistan demand. What, then, is the Congress position?

It cannot be denied that the Pakistan issue has arrested more attention in the last five years that it did in all the previous years. At the Round Table Conference, Jinnah considered Britain and India to be two separate nations and demanded the translation of British promises into action. Then, he ardently pleaded the cause of the 'one-fifth of the human race'. The word 'Pakistan' was not in existence before 1933. It originated in England! In 1942, the issue became really acute, and the Indian public wondered what course the Congress would take. The Congress rose to the occasion. The Congress attitude to 'the substance of Pakistan' was as clear as daylight. It agreed to the largest measure of autonomy to the units composing the Indian Union; it also conceded the right to secede and fully to possess residuary powers. The Congress Working Committee's resolution passed at Delhi at the time of the Cripps Mission states, '*The Committee cannot think in terms of compelling any territorial unit against its declared and established will to remain within the Indian Union.*'¹

In order to clear any misunderstanding Dr. S. A. Latif of Hyderabad, Deccan, wrote and asked whether Jagat Narayan's resolution adopted by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting at Allahabad nullified the Delhi resolution. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, answered, 'It was made fully clear by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Nehru and myself at the time, and I repeat it now, that no part of the Delhi resolution to which you refer has in any way been affected or modified by any subsequent resolution of the A.I.C.C. In fact, the Delhi resolution was confirmed by the A.I.C.C.'² When Dr. Latif wrote to Jawaharlal Nehru on this point, the latter emphatically stated,

¹ Nazir Yar Jung, *The Pakistan Issue*, 115.

² *Ibid.*, 116.

'Nevertheless at Delhi, it (Congress) made it perfectly clear that if any territorial unit was emphatically and clearly of the opinion that it should break with the Indian Union, it should not be compelled to act contrary to its wishes . . . That decision of the Congress Working Committee stands, and nothing has been said or done to modify or vary it in any way.'¹ The Congress position, therefore, was made clear beyond a shadow of doubt. One must admit that both the Government and the Congress took a very liberal stand in this matter.

When Dr. Syed Abdul Latif found that every attempt that was being made to appease Mr. Jinnah failed, he, in an exclusive interview to the Associated Press, said, 'Mr. Jinnah has many personal virtues; but his manners as a leader, his treatment of political opponents, his obstructionist tactics and his aggressive method of stating the Muslim standpoint have all gone to weaken what is intrinsically a strong cause of the Muslims which, I know, he deeply loves. He must know that the intellectuals among the Muslims, particularly the younger generation, are growing increasingly restless over his politics. If Mr. Jinnah would lay his hand on his heart and reflect, he would feel that during these three years of war, he has been simply sitting on the fence, surrounded by a docile and colourless Working Committee of his own creation, awaiting opportunities of but temporary gain, or quarrelling with the Congress on the one hand and some of his own colleagues in the League on the other over issues of petty prestige, or nursing unsophisticated Muslim masses on slogans of a brand of Pakistan, the full and numerous implications of which I have reason to believe, he and his Working Committee have neither studied nor attempted to grasp.'² A little later, Dr. Latif added, 'The British Government, through the Cripps' Plan, conceded to the Muslims the necessary right of self-determination. So has the Congress done.'³ Such a verdict as this one by an

¹ *Ibid.*, 119² *Ibid.*, 137.³ *Ibid.*, 140.

outstanding Muslim gentleman should be an eye-opener to one and all who blindly persist on the now meaningless slogan—the Congress-League Agreement. Dr. Latif sincerely desires self-determination for the Muslims¹, and the British Government and the Congress have formally agreed to the same proposition. Then, why should the problem still linger and persist? If 'the problem has only one solution, namely, that the two peoples should be allowed to part company, so that each may follow its cultural ideals and manage its economy in accordance with its own sphere, free from any interference by the other,'² then, why should they not part ways? Who is holding them together?

4. Gandhi and C. R. for Pakistan

When the Muslim League failed to grasp this great opportunity to establish Pakistan, or at least consolidate its position towards the realization of its goal and unite with the Congress in capturing the promised political power, Rajagopalachari suggested a way out. If the Muslim demand for Pakistan was genuine, and the acceptance of it by the Congress was equally genuine, a formula must be found to steer the Congress and the Muslim League out of the muddle and the deadlock. C. R.³ framed one, and the following is the Formula, and it had the full approval of Gandhi. Thus, instead of the Muslim League framing a demand containing the essentials for the realization of Pakistan, Rajagopalachari, now out of the Congress fold, framed one in which he felt the Pakistan demand was fully embodied:—

1. Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for Free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence and will co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a provisional interim Government for the transitional period.

¹ Latif, S. A., *The Cultural Future of India*, 11 ff.

² Durrani, *The Meaning of Pakistan*, 199.

³ C. R.'s Formula, *Jinnah-Gandhi Talks*, Appendix B.

2. After the termination of the war, a Commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practical franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

3. It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

4. In the event of separation, mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence, and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

5. Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

6. These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility of the governance of India.

When it was known that C. R.'s Formula was not acceptable to the League leader, Gandhi came out in the open with a sincere desire to meet the Pakistan demand. Gandhi's proposal dated 24th September, 1944, endorsed the C.R. Formula, and in the opinion of many unbiased thinkers it fully met the demands of the Lahore Resolution of 1940.¹ We have already noted that Azad and Nehru were not opposed to Pakistan, but now when Gandhi came out with his proposal for Pakistan, the ground under the feet of the Pakistanees was falling; the proposal was :—

'The areas should be demarcated by a Commission approved by the Congress and the League. The

¹ Gandhi's Proposal, *Jinnah-Gandhi Talks*, Appendix C.

wishes of the inhabitants of the areas demarcated should be ascertained through the votes of the adult population of the areas or through some equivalent method.

'If the vote is in favour of separation it shall be agreed that these areas shall form a separate state as soon as possible after India is free from foreign domination and can therefore be constituted into two sovereign independent states.

'There shall be treaty of separation which should also provide for the efficient and satisfactory administration of foreign affairs, defence, internal communications, customs, commerce and the like, which must necessarily continue to be matters of common interest between the contracting parties

'The treaty shall also contain terms for safeguarding the rights of minorities in the two States.

'Immediately on the acceptance of this agreement by the Congress and the League the two shall decide upon a common course of action for the attainment of independence of India.

'The League will, however, be free to remain out of any direct action to which the Congress may resort and in which the League may not be willing to participate.'

These documents speak for themselves. Responsible persons in the Congress placed their cards on the table. They were willing to compromise and end the deadlock. They committed themselves in black and white. The Simla Conference was the chance of a life time. Why did it fail? In the face of facts like these, one wonders whether the Pakistan demand is merely a cover for something else. Gandhi, C. R. and the Congress have gone out of their way to appease the demand for Pakistan, and yet the Congress-League settlement seems as remote as ever. One wonders whether Edward Thompson¹ was after all right when he wrote, 'During the Round Table

¹ Thompson, *op. cit.*, 50, 59
 Garratt, *An Indian Commentary*, 202 "Natives against Natives".

Conference there was a rather obvious understanding and alliance between the more intransigent Moslems and certain particularly undemocratic British political circles. That alliance is constantly asserted in India to be the real block to progress. I believe that I could prove that this is largely true. And there is no question that in former times we frankly practised the "divide and rule" method in India. From Warren Hastings' time onwards, men made no bones of the pleasure the Hindu-Muslim conflict gave them; even such men as Elphinstone and Malcolm and Metcalfe admitted its value to the British . . . I was astonished last autumn to find that certain official circles were keen on the Pakistan idea; and still more astonished to find that some of our own British "left" were beginning to be persuaded to it. There is no surer way of plunging India into eternal civil war.' No wonder, Dr. K. A. Hamied told the Cabinet Mission in London that the Churchill-Amery types 'deserve to go (from India) stock, lock and barrel and then only there will be a change in the Indian situation.'¹

Jinnah might say, 'Two nations confronting each other in every province. Every town. Every village. That is the only solution. It is a terrible solution. But it is the only one.'² C.R. might say, that 'it would be better to divide the country rather than have a worthless combination of Muslims and Hindus.'³ Thousands of non-Muslims living in Hindustan are now favourably inclined towards Pakistan irrespective of its wisdom or fairness, for it would considerably lessen their burden in financial matters in so far that a large amount of money set apart for defence would be spent in Hindustan and not in the Pakistan area as has been the case. During normal times about 70 per cent of the subsidy that the Central Government grants to the Indian Army is spent in the Panjab.⁴ When Pakistan comes, this tribute will

¹ *Forum*, March 24, 1946, 4.

² Thompson, *ibid.*, 52. Read Safdar, A., *The Theory of Two Nations*, 22 ff.

³ C. R., *Tribune*, Lahore, Oct. 22, 1945, 5.

⁴ *Simon Report*, I, 96 ff.

naturally cease. The Pakistan area may have to forego a great many concessions, army contracts and benefits ; but at the same time, it may have to tax her people more than it is doing at present. A neutral and pro-British paper editorially commented, 'Mr. Jinnah has been asked before in these columns for the first time when the flag of Pakistan was raised by Mr. Jinnah to define the implications of Pakistan, but Mr. Jinnah has contented himself with saying that Pakistan will unfold itself when it comes. In the absence of a statement by Mr. Jinnah, Pakistan is now acquiring connotations which make it appear as a project of retrogression, involving a return to conditions which obtained some hundreds of years ago but which cannot last in the atomic age.'¹

One word more. Not long ago, the Sikhs in the Punjab were able to defy the Mughal empire successfully and establish a sovereign state in the Punjab. Could Pakistan successfully cope with the Sikhs? Whoever controls the waterways of the Punjab controls the life of the Punjab! There are at least 13 districts in the Punjab and 16 in Bengal where the non-Muslims form the majority. They, too, may demand self-determination from the Pakistan state. Has the Pakistan idea infused sufficient confidence in the minorities-to-be of the future Pakistan state? The Congress, too, has something more to learn in this respect.

5. Pakistan and the Recent Elections

It is generally assumed that the recent elections to the Central and Provincial Legislatures were fought on the Pakistan issue.² A great many leaders have asserted that the Indian people went to the polls to vote for or against the Pakistan demand. In Britain, for instance, if a general election is held over an issue, the verdict of the electorate is final. Free trade, protection or socialism

¹ *The Civil and Military Gazette*, October 17, 1945, 2.

² Brailsford, H. N., 'The Shadow of Famine', *The Tribune*, Lahore, Feb. 25, 1946, 4.

may be the issue. The electorate has the ultimate authority to vote for or against a proposition. The majority party acts according to the mandate. In India, on the other hand, no legislature has the power to grant or deny Pakistan. Further, the electorate is limited, and some of the real issues were confused.¹ Moreover, the question of Pakistan is outside the scope of Indian legislatures. But there is nothing to prevent people from their mistaken idea that they either voted for or against Pakistan. The voting was done according to the Government of India Act of 1919 and 1935 respectively, and Pakistan, Khalistan or Parsistan² does not come under the purview of these two Acts. The fact of the matter is that the recent elections deluded even intelligent people. It revealed, among other things, the credibility of the masses on the one hand and the clever manoeuvring of the politicians on the other.³

In the elections, however, 'the Hindu Maha Sabha suffered a most disastrous defeat, and it is practically out of the picture. The political influence of the Hindu Sabha has vanished like a dream and her politicians have more or less disappeared from national and provincial politics. The young Communist Party of India which has professed a great many admirable principles has recently gone down in the estimation of the country as a whole.'⁴ Unlike the Maha Sabha, the Communists put up a great fight in the provincial elections with little or no result in their favour. Their growing unpopularity since August, 1942, was a potent cause of their defeat at the polls. Today, they seem to be a negligible quantity in the country's life although Communism does appeal to the oppressed people of India as of Asia. The Radical Democratic Party has not made any mark on the political map of India. Evidently, the Indian National

¹ *Ibid.*

² *The Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, March 17, 1946, 4.

³ Brailsford, *op. cit.*, 4.

⁴ Nehru, J., *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, March 12, 1946, 3.

Liberal Federation, the All-Party Conference and the Non-Party leaders were wise enough not to enter the arena. Except as a clearing house for political trends or a medium to ventilate public opinion, they do not really have any political standing in the country. Therefore, the stand that these different parties might have taken for or against Pakistan does not carry much weight. None of them except perhaps the Communists have advocated a division of the country between Hindus and Muslims.

All over the country, special constituencies such as commerce, industry, labour and university inclined more definitely towards the Congress than to any other party. In fact, all joint constituencies, with few exceptions, elected Congress candidates. It is obvious that these groups hardly believe in the 'Two-Nation Theory'. The Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and Europeans who voted in separate constituencies did not attract much attention although, outside the Punjab, many Christians who stood on the Congress ticket have won notable victories, particularly in the Madras Presidency. The Europeans and the Anglo-Indians have not been vocal on the question of Pakistan. It may not be quite incorrect to say that they do not support the vivisection of the country. Their attitude may be characterised as 'neutral'. The consciousness that India is their motherland is dawning on many of the Anglo-Indians.¹ An average European looks at India with the eyes of a careerist, banker, trader or planter. The Indian Christians who form the largest minority next only to the Muslims have never countenanced the Pakistan demand. Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Rao, an ex-President of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians, observed, 'Pakistan is a wild theory wide off the mark in any coherent scheme of things. It serves as a war cry to rally round the leader's banner in a losing battle. It may serve to spite the Hindu or drive him to a corner. But I doubt if its pro-

¹ *The Sunday Statesman*, March 10, 1946, 6; read letters to the editor.

tagonists really understand the full significance of their venture. Instead of a vague talk, have they any definite plan or scheme of achieving their object? The idea may satisfy vested interests, but many poor Muslims stand to lose." Mr. M. Rathinaswamy, who is a Roman Catholic as Dr. Rao is a Protestant, expressed the same opinion only a few weeks ago.

The Akali Sikhs who figured prominently in the Punjab elections are deadly opposed to Pakistan; rather, they are demanding an Azad Sikh State.² Sikhs, whether Akalis or Congressmen, are united in their opposition to the Muslim League demand. 'If Pakistan is ever to come into being, the Punjab must be its pivot'.³ But the Punjab is under a non-League ministry, and the Akali Sikhs occupy the position of 'king makers' in the Punjab politics. It must also be noted that a number of Congress Sikhs have come out with flying colours in the elections. These are pledged to the independence of India, and their stand has demonstrated that tens of thousands of them take a national and world view of things. They are above communal or provincial outlook. A man like Sardul Singh Caveeshar is respected all over India.

The Justice or the non-Brahmin Party in the South was practically eliminated in the last elections, and in this election, it was given a decent burial. 'One notable feature of the election is the absence of the Justice Party.'⁴

The Momins, a religio-economic group in Islam, have shown some strength in the Bihar elections. 'The Momins who constitute a very large proportion, if not a majority, of the Muslims, who are organized in a separate Jami'at of their own, and who have openly and repeatedly repudiated the Muslim League claim,'⁵ do not

¹ *Modern Review*, vol. 60, 137; *Forum*, March 17, 1946, 28.

² *The Tribune*, Lahore, March 11, 1946, 8.

³ Brailsford, *op. cit.*, 4.

⁴ Reports from the South reveal that the Justice Party put up few candidates in the election; *Tribune*, March 19, 1946, 3.

⁵ Prasad, Rajendra, *India Divided*, 145.

see eye to eye with the Leaguers. The Khaksars led by Allama Mashraqi were altogether ignored in the elections. The Nationalist Muslims, who fought against bitter odds, have captured a few seats in some provincial legislatures. It is amazing that the non-League Muslims polled a little more than half the votes than the League secured in the United Provinces.¹ The Krishak Praja Party led by Fazl-ul-Huq, the ex-Premier of Bengal, is not a formidable one, and today, the 'Lion of Bengal', who moved the Pakistan resolution in Lahore six years ago, is out of the League. The Punjab Unionists, organized by Sir Fazli Hussain, led by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan and sustained by Malik Sir Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana and Sir Chotu Ram, suffered a crushing defeat. 'Where is the Unionist Party today? It is a rump. It is practically dead. The Muslim League has smashed it.'²

On the whole, the elections have revealed that the Muslim League represents an overwhelming majority of Muslims all over India. Its victories in the Central and Provincial elections have been so great that one is forced to conclude that it *does* represent the Muslim voters, and that no other Muslim party commands the confidence and respect of the Muslim electorate as the League does. The elections have also revealed that the Congress has no rival in the field. The Hindu masses are solidly behind the Congress Movement, and it has a following among them that the League does not have among the Muslims. What is more, in spite of its astounding victories in the Punjab and Sind, the League could not form a ministry in the Punjab, and did not secure a clear majority in these two Muslim-majority provinces—'a bewildering fact.' In Sind, the League ministry has been very shaky, and it is leading an uncertain life. The other day, it escaped defeat by a ma-

¹ *Tribune*, March 20, 1946, 7.

² Brij Narain, 'Indian Democracy', *Tribune*, Lahore, March 19, 1946, 5.

jority of one vote. On the other hand, the Congress, in addition to its commanding position in the Central Assembly, has formed ministries in Madras, Orissa, Bihar, Bombay, United Provinces, North-West Frontier Province, Central Provinces and Assam. It has secured a clear majority in all these eight provinces. Assam which was claimed by the Muslim League has safely come to the Congress fold. In the Punjab, it has helped to form a Coalition Ministry. Today, it is in power in nine out of the eleven provinces of India. But for the European group which seems to support the League ministry in Sind and Bengal, the Congress might have formed a coalition ministry there also. In Bengal, however, the Muslim League does seem to enjoy an enviable position.

What is most astonishing is that, whereas the Muslim League literally failed to win the confidence of certain minority groups such as the Depressed classes, Christians, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs¹ and others, the Congress has demonstrated that it *does* command a following from almost all the groups including the Muslims. It continues to enjoy the confidence of tens of thousands of Muslims² whereas the Muslim League has utterly failed to win over a dozen outstanding non-Muslims to its political creed. The League has emerged as a purely communal body without the ability to inspire confidence in any significant minority. The Congress, with all its faults, is still the only party that has a national character, a decent programme similar to the Communists, and a consideration for the common man, irrespective of creed, caste or birth. It has not yet been proved to be a time server. The elections have clearly indicated the attitude of the minorities to the question of Pakistan. It should be remembered by all thinking persons that the future Pakistan state could not be composed of Muslims alone.

¹ Mr Baldev Singh, minister in the Punjab Coalition ministry, issued a remarkable statement in this connection. It should serve as a warning to all major political parties in the country. *Tribune*, March 22, 1946, 16.

² Kabir, Humayun, *Muslim Politics*, 28 ff.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, 1946

Party Strength on Percentage Basis

| Provinces | Total seats | Congress seats | Congress percentage | Muslim League seats | Muslim League percentage | All other Parties | All other Parties percentage |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| Madras ... | 215 | 165 | 77% | 28 | 13% | 22 | 10% |
| Bombay ... | 175 | 128 | 73% | 30 | 17% | 17 | 10% |
| Bengal ... | 250 | 86 | 34% | 114 | 46% | 50 | 20% |
| United Provinces ... | 228 | 153 | 67% | 54 | 24% | 21 | 9% |
| Punjab ... | 175 | 51 | 29% | 75 | 43% | 49 | 28% |
| Bihar ... | 152 | 98 | 65% | 34 | 22% | 20 | 13% |
| C. P. and Berar ... | 112 | 92 | 82% | 13 | 12% | 7 | 6% |
| Assam ... | 108 | 59 | 55% | 31 | 29% | 18 | 16% |
| N.-W.F. Province ... | 50 | 30 | 60% | 17 | 34% | 3 | 6% |
| Orissa ... | 60 | 47 | 78% | 4 | 7% | 9 | 15% |
| Sind ... | 60 | 21 | 35% | 27 | 45% | 12 | 20% |

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS, 1946
Composition of Assemblies—Party Position

| Provinces | Total Seats | Congress | Muslim League | Nationalist Muslim | Unionist | Syed Party | Mominis | Europeans | Pathic Sikhs | Independents | Others | Majority Party | Ministry |
|------------------|-------------|----------|---------------|--------------------|----------|------------|---------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------|----------------|--------------------------|
| Madras ... | 215 | 165 | 28 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | ... | 9 | 6 | Congress | Congress. |
| Bombay .. | 175 | 128 | 30 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | 5 | 6 | Congress | Congress. |
| Bengal ... | 250 | 86 | 114 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 23 | ... | 10 | 17 | None | Muslim League Coalition. |
| United Provinces | 228 | 153 | 51 | 7 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 | 2 | Congress | Congress. |
| Punjab ... | 175 | 51 | 75 | ... | 20 | ... | ... | ... | 22 | 7 | ... | None | Congress Coalition. |
| Bihar ... | 152 | 98 | 34 | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | 15 | Congress | Congress. |
| C.P. and Berar | 112 | 92 | 13 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 7 | Congress | Congress. |
| Assam ... | 108 | 59 | 31 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 | ... | ... | 9 | Congress | Congress. |
| N.-W.F. Province | 50 | 30 | 17 | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 | ... | ... | Congress | Congress. |
| Orissa ... | 60 | 47 | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 5 | Congress | Congress. |
| Sind ... | 60 | 21 | 27 | 4 | ... | 4 | ... | 3 | ... | ... | 1 | None | Muslim League Coalition. |

N.B.—But for the European Group, the Congress could form ministries in Bengal and Sind as it has done in all other provinces.
The European population in India is less than 1/10th of one per cent.

The tragedy is that this situation is hardly recognised by the protagonists of Pakistan.

6. The Way Out

It is in the above light that the issue of Partition ought to be reviewed. Dogmatic assertions¹ must give way to practical considerations. An examination of the forces and factors that have brought about the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims will hardly be able to meet the situation.² Whatever sane arguments one may advance against Pakistan;³ whatever may be the vulnerable spots in the Muslim League standing and organization in the country; and whatever disadvantages the Muslim community as a whole may be forced to suffer; the elections have indicated that the Muslims are solidly behind the League. It is more than evident that the League demand is endorsed by an overwhelming majority of Muslims.

The schemes put forward by interested or dis-interested parties to partition the country cannot be without defects.⁴ Adequate scientific study has not been made on the subject itself, and those who advocate Pakistan might not have fully thought out and understood the implications. The varied and conflicting forces in the future Pakistan state itself do not seem to impress the minds of its well-wishers. Sometimes, violent criticisms are levelled against Partitionists for their failure to adopt a progressive and comprehensive programme to uplift and

¹ Besant, Annie, *India: A Nation*, 14 ff.; El Hamza, *Pakistan a Nation*, 36 ff.

² Prasad, Beni, *Hindu-Muslim Questions*, 9 ff.; Manshardt, C., *The Hindu-Muslim Problem in India*, 31 ff.; Titus, P. M., 'Communalism—A Sociological Analysis', *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Bombay, March, 1942, 474 ff.

³ *India Divided* by Dr. Rajendra Prasad is a systematic treatment of the subject.

⁴ Latif, S. A., *The Cultural Future of India*, 11 ff.; Rahmat Ali, Ch., *The Millat and the Mission*, 13 ff.; A Punjabi, *Confederacy of India*, 17 ff.; Coupland, R., *The Future of India*, 110 ff.; Ambedkar, B. R., *Thoughts on Pakistan*, 105 ff.; There are others who believe in the division of India according to the major languages and geographical features.

educate the masses. Yet, the fact remains that the Pakistanees seem hardly reconciled to the proposal for a united India. They will not be argued out of their unflinching devotion to the Pakistan demand. They are prepared to meet every argument with counter argument, propaganda with counter propaganda and violence with violence. They meet the assertion that Pakistan will not be an economically self-sufficient state by a counter assertion that the Pakistan state, at least, will protect them from 'a dread of the economic power of the Hindu industry and finance.'¹ The criticism that the young Pakistan state will be very vulnerable from the point of view of defence is met by the answer that, in the atomic-age when mighty nations fall to pieces like a deck of cards, spending millions in defence is utterly silly and stupid, and that the world is heading towards a 'good neighbour' policy under the direction of the U.N.O. The maxim that unity alone is strength is up against another that before one learns to die for others one should learn to live for oneself. The argument of geographical and cultural unity is encountered by that of geographical and cultural diversity. What then, is the solution?

The Rev. R. W. Sorensen, an outstanding member of the Parliamentary delegation and one of the well-informed parliamentarians, told the Associated Press of India, 'Although I have heard very eloquent arguments respecting the conception of two nations in India, this requires both a definition of what is meant by nation and also the recognition that in fact within the area called India both Muslims and Hindus actually live and will continue to do so in future.'² The assumption that the Muslims and the non-Muslims will have to live together in the area now called India whatever its future name may be is an un-assailable fact. Secondly, Prof. Harold Laski, Chairman of the Labour Party, hit the mark when he stated that the Pakistan that Nehru was offering con-

¹ Brailsford, *loc. cit.*, 4.

² Sorensen, R. W., *Tribune*, Lahore, January 28, 1946, 8.

ceded 95 per cent Pakistan of the Muslim League variety. Laski continued, 'In politics' compromise is an essential element. Without a give-and-take attitude no political solution is ever possible . . . If a particular leader remains unsatisfied even with sanctioning of 95 per cent of his demand and insists on his hundred per cent, I should think he does not belong to this world. In the present world conditions you cannot have Balkanisation of India with complete sovereignty of separate Muslim majority provinces as embodied in the Pakistan demand will really mean.'¹

The spirit underlying the statements of these two eminent men could serve as a basis for the settlement of India's political problem if Britain is really sincere in her professions to part with power not only in British India but also in the Indian States. If an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League is not possible, then, Britain should impose on India a Dominion constitution, and immediately start negotiations with as many parties as are willing for the purpose of establishing an interim national government. The present provincial arrangement could continue till the introduction of the new constitution. With the Indian States placed on a democratic footing eliminating or merging the smaller ones, the large units of the newly created Indian States Union could function as autonomous constituents even as the eleven provinces of India. The Federal Government, comprehending the Indian States Union and the Indian Union consisting of the eleven provinces, will manage finance, defence, customs, communication, transportation, major industries and the like, and give largest possible autonomy to the different units composing the Federation with power to secede from the Federation on five years' notice.

Any attempt to re-draw the boundaries of the eleven provinces now will lead to further complications which may bring in their train unforeseen consequences detrimental to the social, economic and political progress of

¹ Laski, H. J., *Tribune*, Lahore, March 12, 1946, 9.

India. Another method of solving the Indian problem would be to let the U.N.O. decide the issue with the proviso that its decisions be binding on all parties for 25 years. If none of the above suggestions is feasible or workable a 'truce' may be signed by the League and the Congress to defer the issue of Pakistan till 1960 and form an interim government at the centre with 40 per cent of the seats to the Hindus, 30 per cent to the Muslims, and the other 30 per cent to be equitably distributed among the minorities like the Sikhs, Christians, Anglo-Indians and others. The present provincial arrangement can continue up to 1960. Meanwhile, the Congress, the League and the other political parties will be pledged to the following programme with which the Indian States will be in complete agreement, except for a treaty with Britain for the adjustment of many affairs that have emerged as a result of India's connection with Britain :---

1. The enjoyment of the fundamental rights as envisaged in the All Parties' Conference *Report*¹ or according to the Congress manifesto by all citizens alike.

2. Free and compulsory education up to high school stage for all boys and girls whose parents' income does not exceed Rs. 50/- per mensem.

3. Minimum wage, 40 hours a week labour, with unemployment, old age and sickness insurance for all registered workers. All companies, workshops, factories, banks and the like which are privately owned and operated should employ at least 30 per cent of its staff from communities other than that of the Hindu or *vice versa*.

4. Nationalisation of all major industries including agriculture with a planned economy to meet the needs of the people and their wants. This will involve the abolition of landlordism with compensation to the landlords.

5. A national health programme with a dispensary in every village and a hospital in every town with free medical care to all whose income does not exceed Rs. 100/.

¹ All Parties' Conference *Report*, 101 ff ; Sitarammayya, *The History of the Congress*, 779-782.

6. A national housing programme including the clearance of all slums and the establishment of parks, playgrounds and gardens.

7. Employment in Government service including the Army to be in the same proportion as the composition of the Central Assembly with selection on a competitive and merit basis. Joint electorates to be an integral part of the political system.

8. Abolition of all privileges based on caste, class or religion with a heavy income tax, excess profits tax and inheritance tax.

9. In all religious matters, the members of that religion alone in the legislature can decide, others refraining from voting.

10. The press to be controlled by a central agency with a view to promote public good; and the complete control of all systems of communication, transportation, foreign trade and relations by the central authority for the good of all.

If the above programme is not acceptable with the necessary modification, then, all political leaders over 60 should, in fairness to the people of India and to the millions yet unborn, retire from public and political life or they should be made to retire, giving room to others who are willing to cooperate for the common good.

It is only fitting to conclude this chapter with the irresistible sentiments expressed in the following poem :—

7. India, My India!

Proudly we hail from Ind
That is our motherland :
Land of Ind ! Land of Ind !
Where we were born,
And our forefathers.
And their forefathers,

Through centuries and centuries vivid, unforgettable
spans of time,

They were born and they were nourished, and they
flourished.

'And then mingled their dust with her dust, the dust
of Ind.

They were made one with her, ingrained in her soil ;
The soil contains our graves.

• Our mothers and sisters, our fathers it holds,
And those whom we loved,
And those whom they loved,

Every sod is full of our stars and our moons.

Beautiful and slim minarets of mosques

Are planted on this sacred soil.

Through the dim stars of the morn,

'Amidst peacefully sleeping temple spires,

Sails forth our Azan ;

The Muezzin calls, and the Faithful flock and the
word of God is raised ;

The outpours of the Faithfuls' hearts

Multiply and sally forth with the temples' blast of
conches

'And the air resounds, and the echoes rebound, with
prayers.

*

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*

We are rulers no more, but the memory of our reign
Is hallowed and enshrined in forty million hearts,
It shines as the Taj !

Which in the moonlit night, with its breath-taking
beauty

'Makes our hearts ache with love and with pride.

We are rulers no more but slaves ;

'And yet we owe allegiance only to the land

Where our gardens bloom in laps of countless tracts

Of velvet grass.

'And sweet smelling mango groves thrive,

'And pearly lakes, by lovely country sides,

Gleam palely under the shade of glimmering stars,

'And sleeping corn and drooping buds and flowers

'Are swayed and tossed and rocked by winter winds,

'And childhood's favourite nooks and lanes

• Beckon with trusting love : where we live

'As one great family, and our neighbours

Rejoice in our rejoicings and console us in our griefs,
And cherish us throughout our lives.

* * * *

Impossible to desert such a land !
Impossible to sever the ties of heart rooted so deep !
Say what is Pakistan? Where are we asked to live?
What do they mean by it?

Do we live in an unconsecrated land?
The pillars of our faith, do they rest on polluted soil?
Scorpion spare ! The heart of Chishti bleeds !
Is the ground of Ajmer profane? By the soul of

Waris

Is the earth of Dewa unsanctified?
The mausoleums of Imams, situated in Lucknow,
'Are they, God forbid, on unblessed ground?
Why dost thou build mosques on accursed sites?
'And lay down thy forehead on earth abhorred?

* * * *

Forbear for God's sake from shouting Pakistan,
Forbear from insulting thy forefathers :
Forbear from cutting a heart in two ;
The nation will die, and the English will rule,
Look at Europe, piece by piece it has become divid-
ed.

'And not one piece can call its soul its own.
Look at Arabia, tiny satellites
'All paying tribute to the white-faced English King.
We Muslims of India, hundred million strong,
We will not lick the English boot !
We are the sons of unity !
Hearken the Muezzin's call.
We will not bow before the trinity !
We will not break the nation's head !
United we stand, divided we fall !

(Portions from an Urdu poem by 'Shamin Kashani, one of the premier progressive poets of India, rendered into English with omissions by S. M. A. Husaini. This poem was published in the front page of the first issue of 'Oaumi Awaz' the nationalist Urdu daily and acclaimed all over India as the best poem on Pakistan among all that have been written for or against this subject.)

The Guardian, Madras, January 17, 1946, 29.

CHAPTER X



THE CHOICE BEFORE INDIA

One question is being asked throughout India, and this question supersedes every other question. It engages the attention of every thinking Indian, and it is asked in many different ways. Some ask it in despair and others in hope. Before this question, every other issue including that of Indian independence recedes to the background. Are there two nations in India, or, is the Two-Nation Theory a fiction? Is the Pakistan demand reasonable and genuine? Will India be partitioned between the Hindus and Muslims? Is the Pakistan scheme a political stunt? Is there more than one nation in India? Are the converts to Islam a nation? And the Sikhs? Will it be foolish or wise to divide India into several separate and autonomous regions? Will the Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan and Hindustan respectively agree to their transfer to where their co-religionists form the majority? Will there be a compulsory transfer of populations? What is the attitude of the Congress and the British Government to Pakistan? Do the Muslims and Hindus belong to two separate races? Will India be plunged into a bloody civil war over this question? The answers to these questions are varied and complicated, but none the less, they are the hope and despair of millions. The answers vitally affect the happiness of tens of thousands of people. In this volume we have attempted an answer to some of these

questions. The approach is scientific—an appeal to facts ; and, as far as it is humanly possible, the subject has been impartially discussed.

According to an eminent German political scientist,¹ *Nation is the designation for the population of a sovereign political state, regardless of any racial and linguistic unity.* In the English-speaking countries of the world, political scientists and writers use the word *Nation* to designate the state, and this usage is rather universal.² 'Nation' and 'State' thus are synonymous terms. Therefore, according to the universally accepted definition of the term 'nation', the existence of two or more nations in India is a fiction. India is hardly a nation³ although she is well on her way to nationhood. But the assertion that the Hindus and Muslims form two separate nations respectively, no matter how fundamentally they may differ, is dogmatic and fallacious. There is neither a Hindu nor a Muslim nation in India.

A belief in a common racial origin, community of religion, and common language may help in the formation of a nation-state, but the nation-state may emerge and come into existence irrespective of these factors. Religious, cultural and linguistic groups claiming national status on the basis of these factors may be legitimate, but there are few instances in history when all these people belonging to the same cultural or racial background, when all these people belonging to one and the same religion, and when all these people speaking the same language have been exclusively gathered together in a single nation-state. 'Art and architecture, names and nomenclature, customs and calendars', do not create a nation. The different linguistic, religious and cultural groups in India claiming exclusive nationhood, is, therefore, an historical and political folly. No religious group has exclusively taken to any one language,

¹ Bluntschli, *The Theory of the State*, 4.

² Garner, *Political Science and Government*, 110.

Gilchrist, *Principles of Political Science*, 29-30.

³ Besant, A., *India: A Nation*, 92 ff.; *For India's Uplift*, 129.

and the same language, in India at least, is spoken by more than one religious and cultural group. Even 'if the whole of India accepted Islam' India cannot be considered a nation with her present political status. The Muslims in India speak as many languages as there are in India, and the Hindus and Christians are no exceptions.

Though there are many socio-religious groups in India, one culture pervades the whole country. The moment we stress the individuality of this and that group, and demand nationhood for each of these groups, there will be no end to the individualities of groups within groups. This tendency will result in endless demand for statehood for each and every little caste and sub-caste. Rather, a statesman¹ would stress the fundamental unity of India and not her superficial diversities. A British writer emphasised the coming of the nationhood in India when he wrote, 'Everything went to show that the unity of India was at last being realized; a common medium of speech had been given in the English language; a basis of common rights had been secured; common interests were being realized; a common organization knit India together; in short, in spite of the vast differences of race, language, religion and social customs among the Indian people, the foundations of an Indian nationality had been laid.'² To go back on the unity of India achieved after centuries of toil, turmoil and struggle will be a great political retrogression. It will reveal the bankruptcy of Indian statesmanship. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was right when he made it clear that no one individual or party should hold up the progress of the country as a whole.

From the wilderness of 1858, we have emerged into the dawn of Indian nationhood. If, on the eve of complete statehood, for the sake of temporary political gains or advantages, a partition of India into different

¹ M. A. Jinnah: *An Ambassador of Unity*, 47, 180.

² Kumar, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, *the Apostle of Unity*, 69 ff.

³ Gilchrist, 601

autonomous regions is advocated or contemplated, such a partition may bring in its train chaos and confusion and ruin and disaster, and take India back to the Middle Ages. If united India is unable to face the onslaught of imperialist forces and forces of darkness and reaction, divided India will be an easier prey. Division may inevitably result in the repetition of a thousand years of slavery. To go back on history would be madness. As Dr. Syed Abdul Latif put it, 'The Pakistan issue is no issue at all.' The issue is 'hunger, poverty and unemployment' of the Muslims.¹ If Pakistan is identical with a Muslim state, then, Pakistan in Afghanistan, Palestine, Arabia, Iran, Iraq and Egypt has not bettered the status of the Muslims of these countries; in fact, they are noted for their backwardness, and what is more, they do not count in the councils of the world! They are practically mortgaged to the powers that are strong and united. The most progressive Muslim country which is really one of the most advanced nations of the world is Turkey, and Turkey made this great progress after she drove the Calif away from her midst, and gave up theocracy altogether, and abandoned Islam as a state religion.

On the other hand, if for causes irreconcilable and irresistible, the Muslims desire to form a separate and sovereign state in those parts of the country where they form the majority, and thus secede from the rest of India, nothing on earth could or should stand in their way. As thousands of people are beginning to feel and say, 'It would be better to divide the country rather than have a worthless combination of Muslims and Hindus.'² If a partition of the country is the only way to solve the problem of India, the sooner the country is divided the better it is for all concerned. If the Punjab and the N.-W.F.P. become a Pakistan area, they should be prepared to forego the huge annual subsidy from Hindustan, and tax their people to the extent of many millions to •

¹ *Tribune*, Lahore, Oct. 31, 1945, 10.

² *Ibid*, Oct. 22, 1945, 5

meet the demands of defence. The Pakistanees, further, ought to be prepared to concede the right of self-determination which they so passionately demand for themselves to the non-Muslims in those parts of Pakistan, that is, in those districts of the Punjab and Bengal, where non-Muslims form the majority. If Kashmir forms an integral part of Pakistan, then the Nizam will have to abdicate, and the Hyderabad state will naturally form a part of Hindustan.

An agreement as to the equal treatment of Muslim and non-Muslim minorities in the respective areas will have to be part of the treaty between the two states. It will be an essential part of the constitution of Pakistan and Hindustan. Such an arrangement will, at least, end the ugly and unprofitable political stalemate of today. If partition is the only solution, then sentimentalism should give way to the political realities of the country. Politicians who feed the public with empty phrases, chauvinism, herd instinct and primitive tribalism in the India of today will have to present concrete proposals in the India of tomorrow for the advancement of Pakistan and Hindustan respectively. India will no longer be subject to the present political convulsion.¹

Moreover, what every Indian, be he a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or a Christian, ought to realize and what he often fails to do, is that India is ruled by a foreign power, and that the supreme political authority and power over India is Britain. If the British promise of Home Rule to India is genuine, then, 'why should the Moslem League veto till the crack of doom any implementation of the now old pledge of Dominion Status?'² There is no absolute guarantee that Britain will relinquish her hold on India—British India, the Indian States and the future Pakistan states. It would be an irony of fate, if instead of one Viceroy that India now has, she is forced to have three or four Viceroys—one for Hindustan,

¹ *How can Indian National Unity be Achieved?*, 2 ff.

Mookerji, R. K., *Toward a Stable Communal Compromise*, 8 ff.

² Thompson, *Enlist India For Freedom*, 55.

two for the Pakistan States and the fourth for the Native States. The future may be worse than the present or the past. Indian politicians ought to ponder over the British connection with India, and plan for the future. If Pakistan and Hindustan are another name for British Empire in India, those who ardently advocate the division of India will go down in history as India's worst traitors. It is a crime to sell India into slavery again. Political adventurers do not have and ought not to have the right to mortgage India. If a political division of India is for the good of the people as a whole, then free and divided India will be an infinitely better place to live in than united and enslaved India.

A reflection on the past history of India will reveal that the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians are flesh of the same flesh and blood of the same blood, sons and daughters of the soil of India that gave them birth whatever their colour, whatever their creed and whatever their caste may be. India entombs the remains of all their fore-fathers. All of them have been Indians for a longer time than Americans have been American. They are more definitely related to each other and distinguished from the rest of the world for a longer time than Englishmen have been English. An Indian Muslim could never be an Egyptian, European, Turk, Arab or Persian even if he tried to be one. An Indian will never be a Chinese no matter if both of them are Buddhists. A Chinese, or Soviet Muslim and an Indian Muslim are poles apart in life and outlook.¹

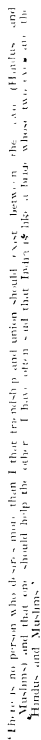
Science has reduced space to nothingness. An average man is literally stunned by the stupendous advancement of applied science. In the atomic age, society, unfortunately, is confronted with only tribal and national morality. Justice is hard to find in the conduct of strong nations with the weak ones. There is very little international morality. In an international social order which hardly recognizes the right to human

¹ Stalin, J., *Marxism and the Question of Nationalities*, 7 ff.

freedom on the part of countries like India, Java, Indonesia, China and other Asiatic countries of the world, the fate of divided and un-organized countries like India and China is sealed. India, therefore, must weld herself together or be destroyed. Must our India, the India of our fathers and mothers for five thousand years or more, under the dominant impulse of herd and clannish instinct, tread her path back to ancient tribalism? Caste is nauseating enough, and its detestable influence is felt in every department and walk of life. Its part in driving the Muslims to find consolation in the emptiness of Pakistan could never be over-estimated. But must we allow it to assume greater proportions in the guise of 'self-determination' and Pakistan to envelop us in one great embrace of death and destruction? If after having lived together for five thousand or more years, we still have in our midst the so-called depressed classes, outcastes and untouchables, then, something is radically wrong with us. Such a social leprosy as untouchability and the like must be ended, and ended at once. To-day, a hundred million Muslims, after a thousand years of contact, do not feel at home in the midst of the Hindus. They are bent upon establishing a separate sovereign state without the British supremacy if possible and with it if absolutely necessary. We must calmly and courageously face the future. The occasion demands a thoroughgoing social and economic revolution that will put an end to all forms and all kinds of social tyranny. We shall be entirely wiped off the face of the earth if we do not at once wake up to the great realization that all Indians are sons and daughters of the soil of India, and that, in the welfare and happiness of the least among the Indians must rest the welfare and happiness of all Indians. The time for decision has come. 'The wise man chooses and the coward stands by.' The destiny of generations yet unborn depends upon the choice we make. Are we two nations? Three? Four? As India goes, so goes Asia! And so goes the world!

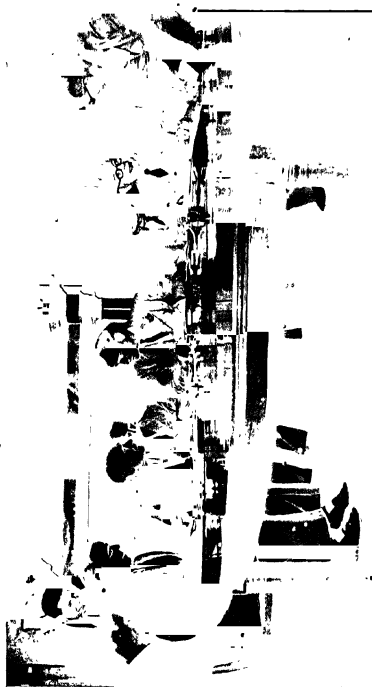
SCM ANALYST MATH LAYERS

KIRKUA ARVID MYRBY, President, The HISANDIEN, President, Ulf-Indra Machine Tools, Mr. ZAMBERGINS, President, Ulf-Indra Machine Tools, and MARGA HUSAN, President, Nationalist Musicians Pathfinders Band.



In the word nation I include both Hindus and Muhammadans, because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it.

Syr Syed Ahmed Khan



'Division by creeds and classes means the creation of political camps organized against each other, and teaches men to think as partisans and not as citizens . . . The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves it will find it difficult to merit the charge of being hypocritical or short-sighted.'

'We conclude unhesitatingly that the history of self-government among the nations who developed it, and spread it through the world, is decisively against the admission by the State of any divided allegiance.'

—Montagu and Chelmsford.

POSTSCRIPT

Fourth of July, Nineteen Forty-Six

On the 15th of March, 1946, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister declared in the House of Commons, 'My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide; but our desire is to help her, to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision. I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so. But if she does so elect, it must be her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.'

Immediately after this pronouncement, three Cabinet Ministers, Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. A. V. Alexander, reached New Delhi to start negotiations with the Indian leaders. Since the arrival of the Cabinet Mission, the political atmosphere of India has been filled with hope and despair. The question whether the Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and whether they were going to be declared as such attracted the greatest amount of attention. Till their departure to England a few days ago, the issue whether power would be immediately transferred to a responsible Interim Government remained unsolved. For three months, uncertainty and suspicion filled the air. All roads led to Delhi and all attention was focussed on the negotiations, parleys, conferences, interviews and

discussions. For nearly eight weeks, the Mission and the Viceroy on the one hand and the Indian leaders on the other tried to reach a settlement regarding India's status. The Simla Conference that the Mission had arranged between the League and the Congress ended in a stalemate. The problem whether the country ought to be partitioned or should remain under the jurisdiction of a single government still hung in the balance.

When the Congress and the League found it impossible to reach an agreement, the Mission and the Viceroy issued a statement on the 16th of May containing their proposal 'to ensure a speedy setting up of a new constitution.' Their proposal is popularly known as the **CABINET MISSION'S AWARD**. At the very outset, it seemed that the independence of India was recognised beyond a shadow of doubt; that the Indians were to manage their own affairs; and that the British Government was willing to part with power and "quit India". The Viceroy proposed to set up an Interim Government with the help of India's ablest leaders. The British Commander-in-Chief declared his readiness to serve under an Indian War Member. The Labour Government endorsed the Mission's proposal. The division of India was considered 'prejudicial to world peace.' The Indian States proclaimed their willingness to co-operate in the new development of India. It was said that though Pakistan was conceded in substance the essential unity of India was preserved. The AWARD was favourably received by almost all sections of the country, and even men like Mahatma Gandhi and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru welcomed it.

On the issue of Pakistan the Mission stated that they had 'examined closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India since they were greatly impressed by the genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu majority rule.' But after an examination of the case for one or more independent Muslim states, they

concluded, 'We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.' The Mission further observed, 'Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan . . . We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign state of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.'

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy proceeded, then, to indicate the nature of a solution, and recommended that the future constitution of India should take the following basic form :—

(1) There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects : Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications ; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution

after an initial period of ten years and at ten yearly intervals thereafter. • •

The Mission also made it perfectly clear that the future 'constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.'

After having broadly outlined the nature of the future constitution for India, the Mission went on to indicate the manner in which the constitution-making machinery was to be set up. The Constituent Assembly empowered to frame the Union constitution will consist of 389 members. Of these, 93 will be from the Indian States; 210 will represent the general constituencies; Muslim constituencies will elect 78 members; and 4 will be set apart for the Sikhs. Thus, British India will have a total of 292. Four more members will be added to represent Delhi, Coorg, Baluchistan and Ajmer-Merwara respectively.

The grouping of provinces has caused a lot of suspicion and misunderstanding. Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar, C.P. and Orissa are to form Group A; N.-W.F.P., Punjab and Sind to form Group B; and Bengal and Assam Group C. Each of these three Groups will meet separately to frame Group Constitutions for their respective Group as well as Provincial Constitutions for provinces within each Group. Just as the Union, every Group and Province will have a separate Executive and Legislature. By mutual arrangement, certain subjects will be deemed as Group subjects, while others will naturally come under provincial management. The Cabinet Award also provides that 'as soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution.' The contention that Groupings are arbitrary and that there is an element of inconsistency and compulsion may be true, but it does not carry much weight in view of the abovementioned provision and a positive declaration

that 'Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups' and that 'all subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.' However, the subject of grouping has led to a great many conflicting assumptions and interpretations.

There is every possibility of the Congress party commanding a majority in the Union Constituent Assembly although it is bound to meet with opposition by reactionary elements and vested interests. The liberal forces will be up against a lot of obstruction at every stage during the process of constitution-making. There may be deadlock after deadlock.

The Constituent Assembly of Group A will consist of 187 members of whom 20 will be Muslims. The Constitution-making body for Group B will consist of 35 members of whom 9 will be General, 4 will be Sikhs and 22 will be Muslims. Group C consisting of Bengal and Assam will have a total of 70 seats 36 of which will go to the Muslims. The Congress is in a most enviable position in Group A consisting of Madras, Bombay, Bihar, U.P., C.P., and Orissa, and there, it will have a free hand in framing the Group and Provincial Constitutions. In Group B and C the Muslim League has a remote chance of commanding a bare majority. The Unionist Muslims and the Sikhs in the Punjab, and the Syed Party in Sind may form a powerful opposition to the League in Group B. The Congress and the nationalist Muslims in Assam, together with some general seats in Assam and Bengal may upset the League position in Group C. The assumption that Groups B. and C. are favourably placed to achieve Pakistan is absolutely unfounded for the simple reason that the League may not be able to command a clear majority in Group B or C. In the second place, Assam and N.-W.F.P. in Groups C. and B. respectively are Congress Provinces, and may elect to come out as soon as conditions permit, and join Group A. The Punjab is a non-League Province, and in Sind, the League is leading a precarious existence. Further, the

question of temperament and material advantage will be a decisive factor. On the other hand, it is very doubtful that the Congress will have an easy time in Groups B. and C. It must be also admitted that there is a widespread fear on the part of Hindus that Groups B. and C. might eventually become sovereign states and secede from the Indian Union. Groups B. and C. being predominantly Muslim areas might become a thorn in the flesh of Group A both in the East and West. Further, there is no guarantee that the Indian States will make a common cause with the Indian Union. The tendency on the part of Groups B. and C. to become autonomous, and the Indian States to maintain their medieval autocracy cannot be dismissed as altogether irrelevant. There is no doubt a growing feeling in the country that the Cabinet Award may eventually lead to the partition of India.

In the beginning, the Cabinet Award came in for a good deal of criticism. The Congress and the League maintained a policy of silence for some time. The Hindu Sabha rejected the Cabinet Plan as 'unfair and unjust.' The Panthic Sikhs formed a Council of Action 'to fight the Mission's Plan,' and adopted the slogan, 'fight for life with backs to the wall.' On the ground that the Award 'encourages forces of disruption' and that the 'essentials of freedom were absent' in it, Mrs. Asaf Ali, Jayaprakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan and Rammanohar Lohia, the Congress radicals asked the Congress Working Committee to reject the proposals. The Forward Bloc denounced the Scheme as a device 'to perpetuate slavery' and 'characterised it as a 'Machiavellian design.'

The Congress had reasons for hesitating before it acted. It did not want to compromise on the question of national unity. It refused to accept the principle of "parity" with the Muslim League. It was deadly opposed to European participation in the Constituent Assembly, and wanted an assurance that they would refrain from standing as candidates or voting in the election of

candidates. And finally, the Congress insisted that it must have the right to select within its own quota any one including a Muslim for the Interim Government. The last demand was not an unusual one in view of the fact that the Viceroy had given a similar assurance to the Muslim League. Finally, the Congress persistently refrained from committing itself in a manner and style which would impair its national and revolutionary character.

During the latter part of the negotiations, the Viceroy had lent himself to misunderstanding and criticism. It was felt that he had strong leanings towards the principle of "parity" between the League and the Congress and indirectly between the Muslims and Hindus in the Interim Government Plan. Perhaps, it was largely due to this misconception that the League accepted on the 6th of June the Long Term Plan of May 16th.¹ If the Viceroy gave an assurance to the Muslim League-leader that there would be parity at the Centre, it could not be fulfilled. When the Interim Government Plan of June 16 had to be abandoned on June 26th, it was again a stunning blow to the prestige of the League which voted to accept the Cabinet Mission Award of May 16 on the basis perhaps of an assurance that the Interim Government Plan of the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission would be immediately implemented. It is now beyond a shadow of doubt that the Viceroy gave an assurance to the League that it could nominate its own members to the Interim Government and refused to give a similar one to the Congress. In fact, he turned down the proposal of the Congress to nominate within its own quota any one it wanted, including a Muslim. Evidently, the Viceroy had given the Muslim League to understand that he would not permit such an action. When on the 16th of June the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy announced the names of the members of the Interim

¹ During the last week of July, the League Council, however, rejected the Long Term Plan. Meanwhile, Nehru has been asked by the Viceroy to form a Provisional Government at the Centre.

Government, the names of three outstanding Congress nominees were missing—Sarat Chandra Bose, Zakir Husain and Rajkumari Amrit Kaur. When the Congress rejected the Interim Government Plan, and the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy abandoned it, the League-leader began to accuse the Viceroy of having gone back on his own word that the Interim Plan would come into effect at all cost. Meanwhile, even British newspaper reporters began to write about the "Viceregal indiscretion" and 'Lord Wavell's soldiery handling politics'. According to Norman Cliff of the *News Chronicle*, 'Lord Wavell is not equal to his task and should be relieved of his responsibility.' The London Weekly, *Tribune*, expressed the opinion that 'Mr. Jinnah's refusal to join the proposed Interim Government was based on the assurance given him privately by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, that the Mission was wedded to the principle of communal representation.'

The delay in the Congress acceptance of the Long Term Plan, as the Cabinet Award of May 16th is now called, was owing to several factors : As was pointed out, it wanted the Viceroy and the British Mission to 'advise the Bengal and Assam European members of the two respective legislative assemblies to refrain from participating in the elections to the Constituent Assembly either by voting in the elections or standing as candidates for election.' By the 26th of June, it seems that it received such an assurance, and the Europeans themselves have come forward with a statement that they would abstain from voting in the forthcoming elections to the Constituent Assembly. In this connection, several outstanding legal minds have made it clear that the right to participate in the elections to the Constituent Assembly is not conferred on the European group by implication in the Cabinet Ministers' Plan. The Congress acceptance of the Long Term Plan is also based on its own interpretation that Provinces are free to opt out of any Group and join any other Group, and that the Sovereign

Constituent Assembly would be the final authority on this question and not the Viceroy or the Cabinet Mission. Therefore, the Working Committee of the Congress decided that 'the Congress should join the proposed Constituent Assembly, with a view to framing the constitution of a free, united and democratic India.'

Just as the Congress has accepted the Long Term Plan, the League too accepted it, but for different reasons : First of all, the League rightly or wrongly felt that the Interim Plan would be definitely implemented. Secondly, in the Grouping system, the substance of Pakistan was conceded. According to the President of the League, 'the foundation and the basis of Pakistan are there in their own (Mission's) scheme.' In the third place, the League had no other choice but to accept the proposals or go into wilderness or resort to direct action. In short, the Cabinet Mission Award of May 16 has practically cornered the Congress and the League. The Congress was persuaded to feel that it contained potentialities for a 'free, united and democratic India,' and the League, for the time being at least, found in it "the basis of Pakistan." During her entire history, Britain never devised a more subtle diplomatic scheme for a situation which is as demoralising as it is baffling. It seemed as though the Congress and the League had been out-witted. British diplomacy has apparently succeeded though its authoritarianism had demonstrably failed. Elections to the Constituent Assembly has been proceeding satisfactorily. The plan was also favourably received by the Indian States, and even before the Plan was announced, the representatives from the States had given an assurance to the Mission and the Viceroy that they would heartily co-operate in 'the new development of India.' The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes gave its approval of the Plan on the 10th of June, and declared their readiness to introduce far-reaching changes in the government of the States.

The division of India into two or more independent

states would have caused a deep wound in the hearts of millions of people. On the other hand, failure to recognise the Muslim League demand for Pakistan would have driven the Leaguers to a state of frustration and disillusionment. The Cabinet Mission has most cleverly left untouched these two most fundamental issues, and whatever lip service they may have paid to the "Unity" of India or the arguments they have convincingly advanced against the Pakistan Scheme must not be judged on their face value. Inconsistency has been the greatest virtue as well as the greatest vice of the British politicians while acting as a party, and British diplomacy and history have been a bundle of contradictions. Labour is in office in Britain, but the Viceroy is a nominee of the Tories. Until very recently, all kinds of arguments were invented and advanced against Indian independence, and to-day British temper and tone have considerably changed. The interest and welfare of the minorities which for a long time weighed so heavily on the considerations of Government are now to be guaranteed on paper. The Cabinet Award has recognised only three communities, leaving out the Indian Christians who form the second largest minority altogether. High ranking British officials had often insisted that Indians must agree among themselves about their own political future, but now His Majesty's Government has taken the initiative in working out a scheme for India. In 1942, 'Cripps' proposal was withdrawn apparently on the assumption that India could be held against the Japanese without India's active participation in the War, but today, Britain is willing to let Indians work out a constitution for Indians. Even as late as last year, India was ruled by Ordinances, and thousands were arbitrarily thrown behind prison bars. Does the international situation with power as the ultimate objective warrant such a new orientation in Indian politics by British politicians? Are the U.S.A., Britain and Soviet Russia up to another war? Will India be again a pawn in world politics? Has Sir Stafford scored a victory in India as he did in Russia?

India, however, is on the threshold of a new era. India must learn to shape her own destiny, and no one else could do it for her, least of all Britain. It is admitted that Mr. Jinnah is incorruptible. For character in public affairs, decency in politics, unlimited patience to endure wrong and injustice, breadth of vision, resourcefulness under trying circumstances, fearlessness in the face of danger, and comprehensive humanity, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Jawaharlal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi have no equals in the modern world. With these men as our leaders, there is bound to be a new day for India. But shallow optimism may lead us into pitfalls. We must face realities. Transient issues seem to cloud the Indian political sky. On the eve of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, every thinking Indian ought to decide for himself or herself whether India shall be or shall not be the common heritage of all her children irrespective of caste, creed or community. The world is watching us, and we will be judged by our national conduct, and not by our professions. Our actions should speak louder than our words. The Constituent Assembly and the Indian people face a grim and difficult future, and certain questions flash across the Indian sky. Is India going to be the mistress of her own house? Are Indians going to be the masters of their own destiny? Will independence have any meaning to the poorest, the lowliest and the least? Are we two nations, and must we live as such? The answers to these questions will lead India to life or death.

To-day is the fourth of July, and one is reminded of how, one hundred and seventy years ago, 3,000,000 'bewildered farmers' acted across the Atlantic when the time for decision came. For eight winters, the author saw how free men and women act in that land made great by Abraham Lincoln who addressed these undying words to his own countrymen exactly on a similar occasion : *Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We*

cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. A husband and wife may be divorced, and go out of the presence and beyond the reach of each other; but the different parts of our country cannot do this. They cannot but remain face to face, and intercourse, either amicable or hostile, must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws can among friends?



SOUTH INDIAN LADY
PLAYING THE VINA

APPENDIX A

THE FAMOUS AUGUST, 1942, RESOLUTION OF THE ALL-INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE

'The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942, and to subsequent events, including the development of the war situation, the utterances of responsible spokesmen of the British Government, and the comments and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution, and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and enfeebling India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

'The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese fronts and conveys to the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom, and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and Colonial countries, and the continuation of the Imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern imperialism, has become the *caux* of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

'The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depend the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assure this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle

for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the taint of that imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

'The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

'The A.I.C.C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its Allied Powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers vesting in these units. The future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

'The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese

control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other Colonial Power.

'While the A.I.C.C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

'An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

'Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

'The Committee regretfully realizes, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the Governments of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticism of the foreign Press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet the present peril and to enable India to defend herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and inaction and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have

shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

'The A.I.C.C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

'The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of this movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

'Lastly, whilst the A.I.C.C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A.I.C.C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle, it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India'.

APPENDIX B

PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF FREE INDIA, OCTOBER 21, 1943

After their first defeat at the hands of the British in 1757 in Bengal, the Indian people fought an uninterrupted series of hard and bitter battles over a stretch of one hundred years. The history of this period teems with examples of unparalleled heroism and self-sacrifice. And in the pages of that history, the names of Sirajuddaula and Mohanlal of Bengal, Haider Ali, Tippu Sultan and Velu Tampi of South India, Appa Sahib Bhonsle and Peshwa Baji Rao of Mahrashtra, the Begums of Oudh, Sardar Shyam Singh Atariwala of Punjab and last but not least, Rani Laxmibai of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Maharaj Kunwar Singh of Dumraon and Nana Sahib among others,—the names of all these warriors are for ever engraved in letters of gold. Unfortunately for us, our forefathers did not at first realise that the British constituted a grave threat to the whole of India and they did not therefore put up a united front against the enemy. Ultimately, when the Indian people were roused to the reality of the situation, they made a concerted move and under the flag of Bahadur Shah in 1857, they fought their last war as free men. In spite of a series of brilliant victories in the early stages of this war, ill-luck and faulty leadership gradually brought about their final collapse and subjugation. Nevertheless, such heroes as the Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi, Kunwar Singh and Nana Sahib live like eternal stars in the nation's memory to inspire us to greater deeds of sacrifice and valour.

Forcibly disarmed by the British after 1857 and subjected to terror and brutality, the Indian people lay prostrate for a while—but with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 till the end of the last World War, the Indian people, in their endeavour to recover their lost liberty, tried all possible methods, namely, agitation and propaganda, boycott of British goods, terrorism and sabotage—and finally, armed revolution. But all these efforts failed for a time. Ultimately in 1920, when the Indian people haunted by a sense of failure, were groping for new methods, Mahatma Gandhi came forward with a new weapon of non-cooperation and civil-disobedience.

For two decades thereafter, the Indian people went through a phase of intense patriotic activity. The message of free-

dom was carried to every Indian home. Through personal example, people were taught to suffer, to sacrifice, and to die in the cause of freedom. From the cities to the remotest villages, the people were knit together into one political organisation. Thus the Indian people not only recovered their political consciousness, but became a political entity once again. They could now speak with one voice and strive with one will for one common goal. From 1937 to 1939, through the work of the Congress Ministries in eight provinces, they gave proof of their readiness and their capacity to administer their own affairs.

Thus, on the eve of the present World War, the stage was set for the final struggle for India's liberation. During the course of this war, Germany, with the help of her allies, has dealt shattering blows to our enemy in Europe,—while Nippon, with the help of her allies has inflicted a knockout blow to our enemy in East Asia. Favoured by a most happy combination of circumstances, the Indian people today have a wonderful opportunity for achieving their national emancipation.

For the first time in recent history, Indians abroad have also been politically roused and united in one organization. They are not only thinking and feeling in tune with their countrymen at home but are also marching in step with them along the path to freedom. In East Asia in particular, over two million Indians are now organised as one solid phalanx, inspired by the slogan of 'Total Mobilisation.' And in front of them stand the serried ranks of India's Army of Liberation, with the slogan 'Onward to Delhi' on their lips.

Having goaded Indians to desperation by its hypocrisy, and having driven them to starvation and death by plunder and loot, British rule in India has forfeited the goodwill of the Indian people altogether, and is now living a precarious existence. It needs but a flame to destroy the last vestige of that unhappy rule. To light that flame is the task of India's Army of Liberation. Assured of the enthusiastic support of the civil population at home and also of a large section of Britain's Indian Army, and backed by gallant and invincible allies abroad, relying in the first instance on its own strength, India's Army of Liberation is confident of fulfilling its historic role.

Now that the dawn of freedom is at hand, it is the duty of the Indian people to set up a Provisional Government of their own, and launch the last struggle under the banner of that Government. But with all the Indian leaders in prison and the people at home totally disarmed, it is not possible to set up a Provi-

sional Government within India or to launch an armed struggle under the aegis of that Government. It is therefore the duty of the Indian Independence League in East Asia, supported by all patriotic Indians at home and abroad, to undertake this task—the task of setting up a Provisional Government of Azad Hind (Free India), and of conducting the last fight for freedom, with the help of the Army of Liberation (that is, the Azad Hind Fauj or the Indian National Army) organised by the League.

Having been constituted as the Provisional Government of Azad Hind by the Indian Independence League in East Asia, we enter upon our duties with a full sense of the responsibility that has devolved on us. We pray that Providence may bless our work and our struggle for the emancipation of our Motherland, and our comrades in arms for the cause of her Freedom, for her welfare and her exaltation among the nations of the world.

It will be the task of the Provisional Government to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. It will then be the task of the Provisional Government to bring about the establishment of a permanent National Government of Azad Hind constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence. After the British and their allies are overthrown, and until a permanent National Government of Azad Hind is set up in Indian soil, the Provisional Government will administer the affairs of the country in trust for the Indian people.

The Provisional Government is entitled to and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Indian. It guarantees religious liberty, as well as equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens. It declares its firm resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally and transcending all the differences cunningly fostered by an alien government in the past.

In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation, and in the name of dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice, we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner, and to strike for India's freedom. We call upon them to launch the final struggle against the British and all their allies in India, and to prosecute the struggle with valour and perseverance and with full faith in Final Victory—until the enemy is expelled from Indian soil, and the Indian people are once again a Free Nation.

SIGNED
ON BEHALF OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF
AZAD HIND

Subhas Chandra Bose (*Head of State, Prime Minister and Minister for War and Foreign Affairs*)

Lt.-Col. Mrs. Lakshmi (*Women's Organisation*)

S. A. Ayer (*Publicity and Propaganda*)

Lt.-Col. A. C. Chatterjee (*Finance*)

Lt.-Col. Aziz Ahmed, Lt.-Col. N. S. Bhat, Lt.-Col. J. K. Bhonsle, Lt.-Col. Gulzara Singh, Lt.-Col. M. Z. Kiani, Lt.-Col. A. D. Loganadan, Lt.-Col. Ehsan Quadir, and Lt.-Col. Shah Nawaz (*Representatives of the Armed Forces*)

• A. M. Sahay (*Secretary with ministerial rank*)

Rash Behari Bose (*Supreme Adviser*)

Karim Gani, Debnath Das, D. M. Khan, A. Yellappa, L. Tivy, and Sardar Ishar Singh (*Advisers*)

A. N. Sarkar (*Legal Adviser*)

APPENDIX C

(A DOCUMENT WHICH FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN THE I.N.A. TRIALS)

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress, July 4, 1776

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:—That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever;

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy of the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

• In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose cha-

racter is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

SIGNED

BY

The Representatives of the Thirteen Colonies.

APPENDIX D

CABINET MISSION'S 'AWARD' FOR INDIA

The following is the full text of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy:—(May 16th, 1946).

1. On March 15 last, just before the despatch of the Cabinet Delegation to India, Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, used these words:

'My colleagues are going to India with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and fully as possible. What form of Government is to replace the present regime is for India to decide: but our desire is to help her to set up forthwith the machinery for making that decision.'

'I hope that India and her people may elect to remain within the British Commonwealth. I am certain that they will find great advantages in doing so.'

'But if she does so elect, it must be by her own free will. The British Commonwealth and Empire is not bound together by chains of external compulsion. It is a free association of free peoples. If, on the other hand, she elects for independence, in our view she has a right to do so. It will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.'

2. Charged in these historic words we—the Cabinet Ministers and the Viceroy—have done our utmost to assist the two main political parties to reach agreement upon the fundamental issue of the unity or division of India.

After prolonged discussions in New Delhi we succeeded in bringing the Congress and the Muslim League together in Conference at Simla. There was a full exchange of views and both parties were prepared to make considerable concessions in order to try and reach a settlement but it ultimately proved impossible to close the remainder of the gap between the parties, and so no agreement could be concluded.

Since no agreement has been reached we feel that it is our duty to put forward what we consider are the best arrangements possible to ensure a speedy setting up of the new constitution. This statement is made with the full approval of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

Unity of India

3. We have accordingly decided that immediate arrangements should be made whereby Indians may decide the future constitution of India and an Interim Government may be set up at once to carry on the administration of British India until such time as a new Constitution can be brought into being.

We have endeavoured to be just to the smaller as well as to the larger sections of the people; and to recommend a solution which will lead to a practicable way of governing the India of the future and will give a sound basis for defence and a good opportunity for progress in the social, political and economic field.

4. It is not intended in this statement to review the voluminous evidence that has been submitted to the Mission; but it is right that we should state that it has shown an almost universal desire outside the supporters of the Muslim League, for the unity of India.

5. This consideration did not, however, deter us from examining closely and impartially the possibility of a partition of India; since we were greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to a perpetual Hindu-majority rule.

This feeling has become so strong and widespread amongst the Muslims that it cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards. If there is to be internal peace in India it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion, and economic or other interests.

Pakistan

6. We therefore examined in the first instance the question of a separate and fully independent sovereign State of Pakistan as claimed by the Muslim League. Such a Pakistan would comprise two areas; one in the north-west consisting of the Provinces of the Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, and British Baluchistan; the other in the north-east consisting of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam. The League were prepared to consider adjustment of boundaries at a later stage, but insisted that the principle of Pakistan should first be acknowledged.

The argument for a separate State of Pakistan was based, first, upon the right of the Muslim majority to decide their method of Government according to their wishes, and secondly, upon the necessity to include substantial areas in which Muslims

are in a minority, in order to make Pakistan administratively and economically workable.

Non-Muslim Minorities

The size of the non-Muslim minorities in a Pakistan comprising the whole of the six Provinces enumerated above would be very considerable as the following figures¹ show:

| <i>North Western Area—</i> | | Muslim. | Non-Muslim. |
|----------------------------|-----|-------------------|-------------------|
| Punjab | ... | 16,217,242 | 12,201,577 |
| N.-W.F. Province | ... | 2,788,797 | 249,270 |
| Sind | ... | 3,208,325 | 1,326,683 |
| Br. Baluchistan... | ... | 438,930 | 62,701 |
| | | <u>22,653,294</u> | <u>13,840,231</u> |
| | | 62.07% | 37.93% |
| <i>North Eastern Area—</i> | | | |
| Bengal | ... | 33,005,434 | 27,301,091 |
| Assam | ... | 3,442,479 | 6,762,254 |
| | | <u>36,447,913</u> | <u>34,063,345</u> |
| | | 51.69% | 48.31% |

The Muslim minorities in the remainder of British India number some 20 million dispersed amongst a total population of 188 million.

These figures show that the setting up of a separate sovereign State of Pakistan on the lines claimed by the Muslim League, would not solve the communal minority problem; nor can we see any justification for including within a sovereign Pakistan those districts of the Punjab and of Bengal and Assam in which the population is predominantly non-Muslim. Every argument that can be used in favour of Pakistan, can equally in our view be used in favour of the exclusion of the non-Muslim areas from Pakistan. This point would particularly affect the position of the Sikhs.

Bengal and Punjab

7. We therefore considered whether a smaller, sovereign Pakistan confined to the Muslim majority areas alone might be a possible basis of compromise. Such a Pakistan is regarded by the Muslim League as quite impracticable because it would entail the exclusion from Pakistan of (a) the whole of the Ambala

¹ All population figures in this statement are from the most recent census taken in 1941.

and Jullundur Divisions in the Punjab; (b) the whole of Assam except the district of Sylhet; and (c) a large part of Western Bengal, including Calcutta, in which city the Muslims form 23.6 per cent of the population.

We ourselves are also convinced that any solution which involves a radical partition of the Punjab and Bengal, as this would do, would be contrary to the wishes and interests of a very large proportion of the inhabitants of these Provinces. Bengal and the Punjab each has its own common language and a long history and tradition.

Moreover, any division of the Punjab would of necessity divide the Sikhs leaving substantial bodies of Sikhs on both sides of the boundary. We have therefore been forced to the conclusion that neither a larger nor a smaller sovereign State of Pakistan would provide an acceptable solution for the communal problem.

Points Against Pakistan

8. Apart from the great force of the foregoing arguments there are weighty administrative, economic and military considerations. The whole of the transportation and postal and telegraph system of India have been established on the basis of a united India. To disintegrate them would gravely injure both parts of India.

The case for a united defence is even stronger. The Indian armed forces have been built up as a whole for the defence of India as a whole, and to break them in two would inflict a deadly blow on the long traditions and high degree of efficiency of the Indian Army and would entail the gravest dangers. The Indian Navy and Indian Air Force would become much less effective.

The two sections of the suggested Pakistan contain the two most vulnerable frontiers in India and for a successful defence in depth the area of Pakistan would be insufficient.

9. A further consideration of importance is the greater difficulty which the Indian States would find in associating themselves with a divided British India.

10. Finally there is the geographical fact that the two halves of the proposed Pakistan State are separated by some seven hundred miles and the communications between them both in war and peace would be dependent on the goodwill of Hindustan.

11. We are therefore unable to advise the British Government that the power which at present resides in British hands should be handed over to two entirely separate sovereign States.

Congress Plan

12. This decision does not however blind us to the very real Muslim apprehensions that their culture and political and social life might become submerged in a purely unitary India, in which the Hindus with their greatly superior numbers must be a dominating element.

To meet this the Congress have put forward a scheme under which Provinces would have full autonomy subject only to a minimum of Central subjects, such as Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications.

Under this scheme Provinces, if they wished to take part in economic and administrative planning on a large scale, could cede to the Centre optional subjects in addition to the compulsory ones mentioned above.

13. Such a scheme would, in our view, present considerable constitutional disadvantages and anomalies. It would be very difficult to work a Central Executive and Legislature in which some Ministers, who dealt with Compulsory subjects, were responsible to the whole of India while other Ministers, who dealt with Optional subjects, would be responsible only to those Provinces which had elected to act together in respect of such subjects. This difficulty would be accentuated in the Central Legislature, where it would be necessary to exclude certain members from speaking and voting when subjects with which their Provinces were not concerned were under discussion.

Apart from the difficulty of working such a scheme, we do not consider that it would be fair to deny to other Provinces, which did not desire to take the Optional subjects at the Centre, the right to form themselves into a group for a similar purpose. This would indeed be no more than the exercise of their autonomous powers in a particular way.

Indian States

14. Before putting forward our recommendation we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new Government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must

be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the Provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow.

The Solution

15. We now indicate the nature of a solution which in our view would be just to the essential claims of all parties, and would at the same time be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of constitution for All-India.

We recommend that the constitution should take the following basic form:

(1) There should be a Union of India embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence, and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects.

(2) The Union should have an Executive and a Legislature constituted from British Indian and States representatives. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Legislature should require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting.

(3) All subjects other than the Union subjects and all residuary powers should vest in the Provinces.

(4) The States will retain all subjects and powers other than those ceded to the Union.

(5) Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures, and each Group could determine the Provincial subjects to be taken in common.

(6) The constitutions of the Union and of the Groups should contain a provision whereby any Province could, by a majority vote of its Legislative Assembly, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the constitution after an initial period of 10 years and at 10 yearly intervals thereafter.

16. It is not our object to lay out the details of a constitution on the above lines, but to set in motion the machinery whereby a constitution can be settled by Indians for Indians.

It has been necessary however for us to make this recommendation as to the broad basis of the future constitution because it became clear to us in the course of our negotiation that not until that had been done was there any hope of getting

the two major communities to join in the setting up of the constitution-making machinery.

Constituent Assembly

17. We now indicate the constitution-making machinery which we propose should be brought into being forthwith in order to enable a new constitution to be worked out.

18. In forming any Assembly to decide a new Constitutional structure the first problem is to obtain as broad-based and accurate a representation of the whole population as is possible. The most satisfactory method obviously would be by election based on adult franchise; but any attempt to introduce such a step now would lead to a wholly unacceptable delay in the formulation of the new Constitution.

The only practicable alternative is to utilize the recently elected Provincial Legislative Assemblies as the electing bodies. There are, however, two factors in their composition which make this difficult. First, the numerical strengths of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies do not bear the same proportion to the total population in each Province. Thus Assam with a population of 10 million has a Legislative Assembly of 108 members, while Bengal, with a population six times as large, has an Assembly of only 250.

Secondly, owing to the weightage given to minorities by the Communal Award, the strengths of the several communities in each Provincial Legislative Assembly are not in proportion to their numbers in the Province. Thus the number of seats reserved for Muslims in the Bengal Legislative Assembly is only 48 per cent of the total, although they form 55 per cent of the Provincial population.

After a most careful consideration of the various methods by which these inequalities might be corrected, we have come to the conclusion that the fairest and most practicable plan would be—

(a) to allot to each Province a total number of seats proportional to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million, as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage;

(b) to divide this provincial allocation of seats between the main communities in each Province in proportion to their population;

(c) to provide that the representatives allotted to each community in a Province shall be elected by the members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.

We think that for these purposes it is sufficient to recognise only three main communities in India: General, Muslim, and Sikh, the 'General' community including all persons who are not Muslims or Sikhs.

As the smaller minorities would, upon the population basis, have little or no representation since they would lose the weightage which assures them seats in the Provincial Legislatures, we have made the arrangements set out in paragraph 20 below to give them a full representation upon all matters of special interest to the minorities.

19. (i) We therefore propose that there shall be elected by each Provincial Legislative Assembly the following numbers of representatives, each part of the Legislature (General, Muslim or Sikh) electing its own representatives by the method of 'proportional representation with the single transferable vote:—

TABLE OF REPRESENTATION

SECTION A

| <i>Province</i> | <i>General</i> | <i>Muslim</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| Madras ... | 45 | 4 | 49 |
| Bombay ... | 19 | 2 | 21 |
| United Provinces ... | 47 | 8 | 55 |
| Bihar ... | 31 | 5 | 36 |
| Central Provinces ... | 16 | 1 | 17 |
| Orissa ... | 9 | 0 | 9 |
| Total .. | 167 | 20 | 187 |

SECTION B

| <i>Province</i> | <i>General</i> | <i>Muslim</i> | <i>Sikh</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|----------------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| Punjab ... | 8 | 16 | 4 | 28 |
| North-West Frontier Province ... | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 |
| Sind ... | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| Total ... | 9 | 22 | 4 | 35 |

SECTION C

| <i>Province</i> | <i>General</i> | <i>Muslim</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| Bengal ... | 27 | 33 | 60 |
| Assam ... | 7 | 3 | 10 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total ... | 34 | 36 | 70 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total for British India ... | ... | ... | 292 |
| Maximum for Indian States | ... | ... | 93 |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| | | Total ... | 385 |
| | | | <hr/> |

Note.—In order to represent the Chief Commissioners' Provinces there will be added to Section A the Member representing Delhi in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Member representing Ajmer-Merwara in the Central Legislative Assembly, and a representative to be elected by the Coorg Legislative Council. To Section B will be added a representative of British Baluchistan.

(ii) It is the intention that the States should be given in the final Constituent Assembly appropriate representation which would not, on the basis of the calculations adopted for British India, exceed 93, but the method of selection will have to be determined by consultation. The States would in the preliminary stage be represented by a Negotiating Committee.

(iii) The representatives thus chosen shall meet at New Delhi as soon as possible.

(iv) A preliminary meeting will be held at which the general order of business will be decided, a Chairman and other officers elected and an Advisory Committee (see paragraph 20 below) on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas set up. Thereafter the provincial representatives will divide up into the three sections shown under A, B, and C, in the Table of Representation in sub-paragraph (i) of this paragraph.

(v) These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what provincial subjects the Group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) below.

(vi) The representatives of the Sections and the Indian States shall reassemble for the purpose of settling the Union Constitution.

Communal Issues

(vii) In the Union Constituent Assembly resolutions varying the provisions of paragraph 15 above or raising any major communal issue shall require a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities.

The Chairman of the Assembly shall decide which (if any), of the resolutions raise major communal issues and shall, if so requested by a majority of the representatives of either of the major communities, consult the Federal Court before giving his decision.

(viii) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new constitution.

Fundamental Rights

20. The Advisory Committee on the rights of citizens, minorities, and tribal and excluded areas should contain full representation of the interests affected, and their function will be to report to the Union Constituent Assembly upon the list of Fundamental Rights, the clauses for the protection of minorities, and a scheme for the administration of the tribal and excluded areas, and to advise whether these rights should be incorporated in the Provincial, Group, or Union constitution.

21. His Excellency the Viceroy will forthwith request the Provincial Legislatures to proceed with the election of their representatives and the States to set up a Negotiating Committee. It is hoped that the process of constitution-making can proceed as rapidly as the complexities of the task permit so that the interim period may be as short as possible.

Treaty with Britain

22. It will be necessary to negotiate a Treaty between the Union Constituent Assembly and the United Kingdom to provide for certain matters arising out of the transfer of power.

23. While the constitution-making proceeds, the administration of India has to be carried on. We attach the greatest importance therefore to the setting up at once of an interim

Government having the support of the major political parties. It is essential during the interim period that there should be the maximum of co-operation in carrying through the difficult tasks that face the Government of India.

Besides the heavy task of day-to-day administration there is the grave danger of famine to be countered; there are decisions to be taken in many matters of post-war development which will have a far-reaching effect on India's future; and there are important international conferences in which India has to be represented. For all these purposes a Government having popular support is necessary.

The Viceroy has already started discussions to this end, and hopes soon to form an Interim Government in which all the portfolios, including that of the War Member, will be held by Indian leaders having the full confidence of the people.

The British Government, recognising the significance of the changes in the Government of India, will give the fullest measure of co-operation to the Government so formed in the accomplishment of its tasks of administration and in bringing about as rapid and smooth a transition as possible.

Conclusion

24. To the leaders and people of India who now have the opportunity of complete independence we would finally say this. We and our Government and countrymen hoped that it would be possible for the Indian people themselves to agree upon the method of framing the new constitution under which they will live. Despite the labours which we have shared with the Indian Parties, and the exercise of much patience and goodwill by all, this has not been possible. We therefore now lay before you proposals which, after listening to all sides and after much earnest thought, we trust will enable you to attain your independence in the shortest time and with the least danger of internal disturbance and conflict. These proposals may not, of course, completely satisfy all parties, but you will recognise with us that at this supreme moment in Indian history statesmanship demands mutual recommendation.

We ask you to consider the alternative to acceptance of these proposals. After all the efforts which we and the Indian Parties have made together for agreement, we must state that in our view there is small hope of peaceful settlement by agreement of the Indian Parties alone. The alternative would therefore be a grave danger of violence, chaos, and even civil war. The result and duration of such a disturbance cannot be foreseen; but it is certain that it would be a terrible disaster for many

millions of men, women and children. This is a possibility which must be regarded with equal abhorrence by the Indian people, our own countrymen, and the world as a whole.

We therefore lay these proposals before you in the profound hope that they will be accepted and operated by you in the spirit of accommodation and goodwill in which they are offered. We appeal to all who have the future good of India at heart to extend their vision beyond their own community or interest to the interests of the whole four hundred millions of the Indian people.

We hope that the new independent India may choose to be a member of the British Commonwealth. We hope in any event that you will remain in close and friendly association with our people. But these are matters for your own choice. Whatever that choice may be we look forward with you to your ever increasing prosperity among the great nations of the world, and to a future even more glorious than your past

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N.B.—(1) *Modern Review*, June and July, 1946, contains practically all documents connected with the Cabinet Mission to India.

(2) The *postscript* is based on newspaper reports.

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